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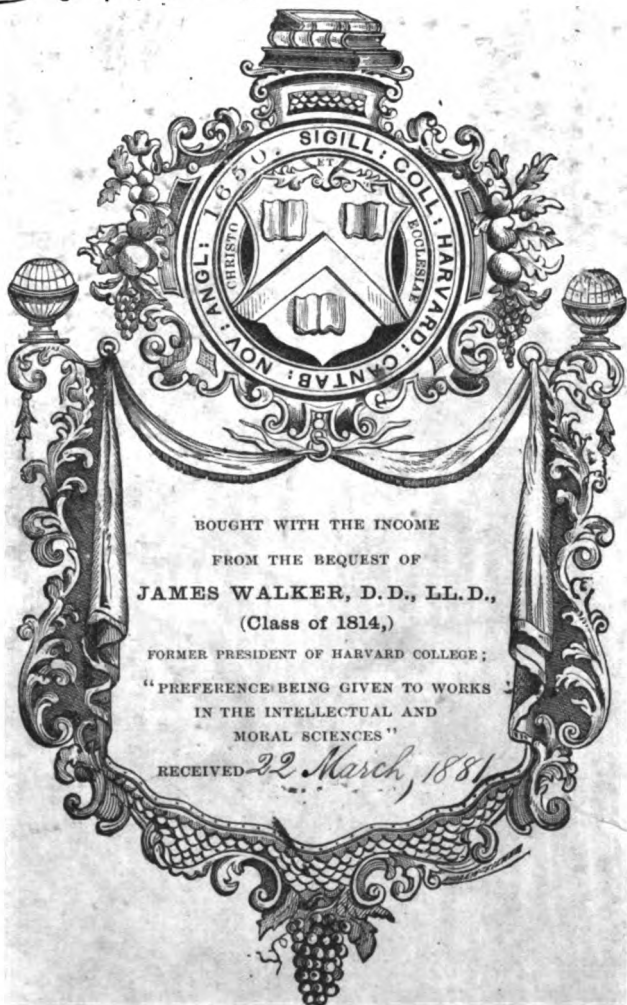
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HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM

HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM

FROM

ABOUT A. D. 250 TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

GEORGE PUNCHARD

VOL. IV

CONGREGATIONALISM IN AMERICA

VOL. I

NEW ENGLAND, VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS,
LONG ISLAND, NEW JERSEY, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH
CAROLINA, GEORGIA, AND CANADA

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PREFACE.

My History has been like an old-fashioned United States ship of war — whose frame was sometimes suffered to stand under cover for five-and-twenty or more years, waiting for an occasion, or an appropriation, to finish it — well seasoned.

In the midst of active preparations, loss of health compelled me to leave my profession and devote many years to incessant toil to earn a living. In my old age I had an opportunity to return to the work.

One prominent object kept in mind through this history has been to furnish a bibliography of Congregationalism, so that any student of our history may have some guide for his researches, and not be compelled to grope in the dark as I have had to do. Accordingly, my constant endeavor being to pack into these volumes as many facts and data illustrative of Congregational history as I possibly could, notes have been employed more freely than they would have been had it been any part of the author's purpose to make a popular and attractive work merely. To give the greatest amount of historical truth in the briefest and simplest and clearest style possible, has been the end and object of all his efforts. I have tried to give as much continuity to the different topics of this history as possible, even at the sacrifice of chronological order, when necessary; thinking it on the whole a less evil to be obliged to retrace one's steps occasionally, than to have the story of a particular era, or country, or State, broken into fragments. Though collateral secular history has been given somewhat freely, yet I have never intentionally gone into the general history of the different periods, except to illustrate the great end of these volumes — the progress and development of Congregationalism.

Though many to whom I have applied for information have failed to respond, yet it is truly surprising, on a review, to find how large a number of busy men have not only taken time to

answer my inquiries, but have put themselves to much trouble to help along my work. I make this general and thankful acknowledgment of help from others; and I have generally indicated in notes the sources from which information, otherwise inaccessible, has been derived.

I have been indebted to the Rev. Dr. Langworthy, librarian of the Congregational Library, for so many and such various kinds of help in preparing the final volume, that I cannot well acknowledge them in detail, except so far as the reports from the Congregational churches of the Northwest are concerned, which are mostly of his procurement; and without the Congregational Library, the volume could hardly have been written at all.

Thus far had the lamented author of this history written, when the Head of the Church bade him rest from earthly toil and receive the promised reward of fidelity unto death. The summons was not unexpected. For several months Mr. Punchard had prosecuted his work with declining strength, but with increasing zeal. His earnest hope was to be permitted to see the end of the history to which so large a portion of his life had been given. He did live to survey the land of his hopes from afar, but not to enter and take possession. At the time of his death the closing chapters of the present volume were in the hands of the printer, and the fifth—the final volume—was prepared for the press. Both of these volumes will be given to the public at no distant day. The closing volume will complete the history of Congregationalism in this country, giving an account of its introduction and progress in the States and Territories not embraced in Volume IV.

Had my beloved and revered uncle, the author of this work, been spared to preface it to the public with his own pen, probably the "Hints for Preface," which are given above, might have been expanded, and others have been added. I deem it unnecessary, however, to add suggestions of my own, which, at best, could be scarcely more than conjectural. In an earlier preface, the author "cheerfully and trustfully commits his labors to the Christian denomination which as a child he was taught to respect

and love, and which the careful studies of mature years have constrained him to regard as the most truly Apostolic in its ecclesiastical polity." After an interval of fifteen years, these words may be appropriately adopted in presenting to the Christian public the present volume, conveying, as they do beyond a doubt, the convictions and sentiments of the author's latest years and maturer studies, not less than those of his earlier life; and that, too, with greatly augmented significance and force.

GEORGE B. JEWETT.

Salem, Mass., June, 1880.

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CHAPTER XXI.

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HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY — ENGLAND, 1620-1630 — JAMES I AND CHARLES I —
ABSOLUTISM, POPERY AND IRRELIGION.

IT took about ten years — from 1620 to 1630 — to perfect the foundations of the Pilgrim Colony at Plymouth. And eventful years they were, to the Old World and the New. For, while the Pilgrims were struggling in this wilderness with countless discouragements and hardships, the Protestants of France, Bohemia and Germany were being slaughtered by Popish armies; and the English Puritans were suffering grievous oppression under the intolerable Stuarts. For five years after the departure of the Pilgrims for America, James I continued his vexatious misrule over Great Britain. Puritanism was his special aversion, not only because he had apostatized from it, but because it was the chief obstacle in his lawless, irreligious way. The “Book of Sports” was particularly aimed at the Puritans. In this, the king required the clergy to proclaim in their churches that it was his pleasure that “lawful recreations, such as dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, or any such

harmless recreations ; and May-games, whitsunales, or morris-dances, or setting up May-poles, or other sports therewith used" . . . should be practised on Sundays at the close of divine service.

He also sought to limit the influence of the Puritan clergy by confining their preaching to the afternoons of the Lord's Day, and by dictating the themes on which they should preach.

James lived for years in a chronic quarrel with his parliaments, and finally ceased to call them ; he ruthlessly trampled on the constitution and laws of the kingdom, by imposing illegal taxes and duties ; by forced loans and benevolences ; by granting chartered monopolies ; by selling honorary titles and inflicting arbitrary and exorbitant fines, and by every other mean, wicked and illegal method that he could devise.

And while the friends of civil and religious liberty were by these methods brought well-nigh to despair, the Romanists in England lifted their heads in joyful anticipation of their complete triumph. Gondamar, the Spanish ambassador, wrote of these times, that never was there more hope of England's conversion. And well might he think so. For the Church of Rome was then admitted by the court bishops to be a true church, and the Pope to be the first bishop in Christendom and superior to all bishops. The lawfulness of images in churches was allowed ; and so was confession to a priest and sacerdotal absolution, and the merit of good works and prayers for the

dead. The doctrines of the Reformation were scouted; the morality of the Sabbath was denied, and plays were usual entertainments at Court on the Lord's Day. The writings of evangelical men were refused license, while Arminian and Romish treatises found ready access to the public.

Such was the state of things when James I died of tertian or intermittent fever, produced by gout, vexation and habitual intemperance, March 27, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign.*

James was succeeded by his only son, Charles I, who might easily have made himself a popular and beloved prince. But, unfortunately, he walked in the way of his father, and even outran him in evil. He disregarded all the warnings which his father had received; took to his bosom a devoted Catholic princess, an intriguing, ambitious woman; and to his intimate friendship the most unscrupulous man in the kingdom, Buckingham, who had been the curse of his father's reign; he also adopted the unconstitutional and ruinous policy and measures of his arbitrary and unwise parent. Like his father, Charles quarrelled with his parliaments for

* My authorities for this sketch of James I and his miserable reign may be found in *History of Congregationalism*, vol. III, chap. x, and note H, Appendix; *Vaughn's Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, I, 332-36, 345, II, 1-12.

The London Quarterly for July, 1875, has a long and very able article on "The First Stewart in England," designed to mollify the severe judgment of the world against James I.

successive years, then ceased to call any, and for eleven or twelve years reigned an absolute monarch; raising supplies by the unconstitutional use of his prerogative, by forced loans, and by taxes of every description which the ingenuity of his advisers could invent.

Not only was there misrule, oppression and tyranny in the State, but a corresponding misgovernment in the Church. In 1627 Laud, the notorious, began to figure largely in public life, and in 1633 was made Archbishop of Canterbury. He sought to reduce the Church of England to an absolute uniformity resembling that of Rome. He encouraged auricular confession, penances, the celibacy of the clergy, the ceremonial of the mass, and the use of altars, paintings, etc., in the churches. Puritans were persecuted and punished on every pretext, while Popish recusants were let off easily. A plan was devised even for uniting the Churches of Rome and England together; and an Italian emissary to promote this was cordially received, and admitted to a secret conference with the king.

It was at this time that an intelligent foreigner, then residing in England, wrote: "The universities, bishops and divines of England do daily embrace Catholic opinions, though they profess it not with the mouth, for fear of the Puritans." . . . The Court party, he says, "hate the Puritans more than the Papists . . . and easily combine with Papists to exterminate Puritans." And Lord

Northumberland, an English courtier, honestly confessed: "It is impossible that things can long continue in the condition they are now in. So general a defection in this kingdom hath not been known in the memory of any."

It was the persistence of the king and his counsellors in these evil ways, and this downward course of things towards absolutism in the State and Romanism in the Church, which finally brought the Puritan party—including both the religious and patriotic people of the kingdom—to despair of ever seeing liberty and religion again flourish in that country without a bloody revolution and civil war. And those who were not prepared to undertake such a revolution and war, came reluctantly and sorrowfully to the conclusion, that the only course left for them was to follow the persecuted Separatists to the New World.*

To the history of this great and wonderful emigration, and the subsequent establishment and spread of Congregational and Puritan principles in this New World, the succeeding chapters of this volume will be devoted.

* The reader who would see the authorities on which this sketch of the reign of Charles I is founded, can consult *Brodie's Constitutional History of the British Empire*, i, 204-443; *Rushworth's Historical Collections*, i, 176-422, 618-62; *May's History of the Parliament begun Nov. 3, 1640*, p. 16, Lond., 1812, 4°; *Lingard's Hist. Eng.*, ix, 198-237.

CHAPTER II.

SETTLEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY—CAPE ANN—SALEM— CHURCH ORGANIZATION IN SALEM.

THE wretched condition of England, and the hopeless gloom which hung over the friends of civil and religious freedom there, between 1620 and 1630, made the reports of the Plymouth New England colonists most interesting and welcome news. In 1622 Bradford and Winslow's Journal ("Mourt's Relation," as it is commonly called) was published; and in 1624 Winslow's "Good News from New England" appeared.* These narrations, with other more private accounts, were sufficient proof that there was a good country beyond the Atlantic, where men could live in peace and comfort, and enjoy the institutions of religion unmolested by State or Church.

For some years previous to 1623, a brisk and profitable trade in fish and furs had been carried on by merchants in the west of England with the New England coasts; the number of their vessels gradually increasing, from six in 1620, to fifty in 1624.† It being common to double-man these

* *Young's Chronicles of Plymouth*, Pref. vii, and *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 4-5. Mourt and Winslow were abridged and printed by Purchas, in his "Pilgrims," in 1625. See also *Prince's Chronological History of New England*, 224.

† *Chronicles of Mass.*, 5; *Prince*, 157, 185, 201, 210, 224.

vessels, in order to expedite the fishing business while the short season lasted, it occurred to parties interested in the welfare of these fishermen, who were shut out from religious institutions nine or ten months at a time, that a portion of every crew might be left at some convenient point on the coast, and a permanent settlement thus be made, where vessels could refit, obtain fresh provisions and necessary supplies, and where the gospel might be heard, and some religious influence exerted over the men employed in this hard and dangerous service. It was proposed that the men left on the land should be employed in building and in agricultural work during a part of the year; while they held themselves ready to join the fishing vessels when needed. Thus, it was thought, a great saving might be made for the merchants, by avoiding the necessity of transporting to and from the American coast twice as many men as were required to work their vessels; while the men would be benefited by the Christian influences of the colony. The Rev. John White, a distinguished Puritan minister of Dorchester, was an active promoter, if not the originator of this scheme; which was so well received that £3,000 were readily raised, and a joint stock company formed to carry it into execution.*

* *Hubbard's General History of New England*, 105-7.

Mr. Roger Conant, "a religious, sober and prudent gentleman," the first superintendent of this enterprise, seems from the first to have had in mind, that this plantation, besides being of great

What is now Gloucester, or Cape Ann, was selected as the most convenient location for the fishermen's colony. And in the fall of 1623, or the spring of 1624, John Tilly and Thomas Gardner were sent out by the new company; one to superintend the fishing, and the other the planting. In the winter or spring of 1624-25, Roger Conant took the superintendence of the plantation, and Rev. Mr. Lyford became the minister. For some two years, the Dorchester Company sustained their colony at the Cape; but it proved a very unsuccessful and expensive adventure. It was found that fishermen were poor farmers, and farmers poor fishermen; so the Company finally had to abandon the original enterprise, pay off the men, and transport most of them home again.*

A few of the more honest and industrious of the men, however, were induced to remain, at the solicitation of Mr. White, whose heart was in this enterprise. These men were Roger Conant, John Woodbury, John Balch, and Peter Palfrey.

use to the merchants and their employees, "might prove a receptacle for such, as upon the account of religion would be willing to begin a foreign plantation in this part of the world."

"Mr. White conferred with Bishop Lake [of Bath and Wells], who favored the suggestion; especially, as an opportunity for Christian missions among the Indians; and entered into it with such zeal, as to say to Mr. White, that, 'he would go himself, but for his age.'" — *Thornton's Intr. to the Pulpit of the American Revolution*, xv-xvi.

* *Chronicles Mass.*, pp. 11, 23—; *Hubbard's General History of New England*, 105-8; *Prince*, 224, 230-31, 233, 235; *Felt's Ecclesiastical History of New England*, 1, 78.

Mr. White promised a patent, a reinforcement of men, supplies of provisions, goods for trading, and whatever should be necessary for their comfort and success, if they would remain and keep the plantation alive. Both parties fairly fulfilled their engagements, and thus made sure the continuance and ultimate success of this first settlement in Massachusetts Bay.*

But Conant — a shrewd, energetic, discreet, good man, who seems to have had an eye from the first to a permanent colony and an asylum for the persecuted nonconformists — after about a year's residence at the Cape, became satisfied that it was not the best location for a colony; and, with his companions, removed to Naumkeag (Salem) in the autumn of 1626.

The next year White and his friends sent over supplies, and induced some religious people of London to join in the venture and increase the supplies — they having like views with Conant regarding the plantation. Soon after, a patent was purchased of the Plymouth Council; and subsequently, a royal charter was obtained, and the company enlarged their plans, extended their operations, and fortunately secured for governor John Endicott, an energetic, fearless Puritan, as decided in opinion as he was prompt in action; "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work." †

* *Chron. Mass.*, 12; *Hubbard*, 107; *Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. Bay*, 1, 8-14.

† *Chron. Mass.*, 11-13, 25-28; *Hubbard*, 116; *Hutchinson*, 1, 89;

On the 20th of June, 1628, Endicott, with his wife, a few planters and some servants, sailed in the *Abigail*, for Naumkeag; where they arrived safely, September 6, 1628. These new-comers, uniting with Conant's company, made up a population of between fifty and sixty persons, which by June, 1629, was increased to about one hundred souls.*

The report sent home by Endicott was so favorable, that the "Massachusetts Company," as the new company was now styled, was encouraged to send out, the following year, a large number of colonists: some three hundred men, "sixty women and maids," twenty-six children, with one hundred and forty head of cattle, and everything deemed needful for new settlers in the wilderness. With this company came three Puritan clergymen, to look after the spiritual interests of the colony, namely: the Rev. Francis Higginson, a silenced nonconformist minister; Rev. Samuel Skelton, another nonconformist; and Rev. Francis Bright, "trained up under Mr. Davenport," who, though a Puritan, was probably a moderate conformist. The reason assigned by the Company for sending so large a number of ministers is noteworthy: "For that the propagating of the gospel is the

Prince, 235.— The patent was purchased March 19, 1627-8; and the royal charter was obtained March 4, 1628-9.

* *Chron. Mass.*, 13; *Wonderworking Providence*, chap. ix, p. 19; *Holmes' Annals*, i, 193; *Higginson's New England's Plantation*, in *Chron. Mass.*, 258, 309; *Prince*, 249-50.

thing we profess above all, in settling this plantation, we have been careful to make plentiful provision of godly ministers." * They also gave a passage to Rev. Ralph Smith, a Separatist minister, who went first to Nantasket, and afterwards became pastor of the church in Plymouth. This large company, whose leaders at least came with a view to the "glory of God, the propagation of the gospel of Christ, the conversion of the Indians, and the enlargement of the king's dominions in America," sailed in six vessels from England. Three of the vessels arrived about the end of June at Naumkeag, which, in grateful acknowledgment of God's goodness towards the settlement, they called *Salem* — Peace. These new-comers, added to the old settlers, made up about three hundred planters. Two hundred of them remained at Salem, and the others, with the consent of Governor Endicott, and in conformity to instructions

* *Prince*, 263-4, 268. There were 35 of the Leyden people in this company, whose ultimate destination was Plymouth. *Chron. Pilgr.*, 14, 142-43, 300; *Bradford's Hist.*, 245, 247. The Suffolk County Records say of these ministers, "As the ministers have declared themselves of one judgement, and to be fully agreed in the manner how to exercise their ministry, we have good hopes of their love and unanimous agreement." — *Prince*, 258. *Hubbard* says that Smith entered into a written agreement with the company, not to exercise his ministry within the limits of the patent without the express permission of the Governor on the spot; *Hutchinson*, 1, 10; The Company's Instructions in *Chron. Mass.*, 151-2. "The Company's Records" afford abundant evidence of the care that was exercised in providing various and ample supplies for this body of emigrants. — *Chron. Mass.*, 39-65.

received from England, went immediately to Charlestown to begin there a settlement.

No time was lost after the arrival of this reinforcement at Salem, in arranging the ecclesiastical affairs of the town. As early as July 20th Governor Endicott, after consultation with the leading men of the colony, appointed a day of fasting and prayer, with reference to the organization of a church and the choice of church officers. The entire day was devoted to this business. In the forenoon there were "prayer and teaching," with special reference to the objects contemplated. Afterwards, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson gave their views of ecclesiastical matters; and in answer to inquiries, stated that they deemed the calling of a minister to be twofold: one, "an inward calling, when the Lord moved the heart of a man to take the calling upon him, and fitted him with gifts for the same; and the second, was an outward calling, which was from the people, when a company of believers are joined together in covenant to walk together in all the ways of God, and every member (being men) are to have a free voice in the choice of their officers, etc." Having satisfied themselves with the qualifications of the candidates, the brethren proceeded at once to vote. "Every fit member wrote in a note [on a slip of paper] his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor; and so likewise, whom they would have for a teacher. So the most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor, and Mr. Higginson

to be teacher." These gentlemen having accepted their calls to office, their election was confirmed at once by prayer and the laying on of hands. First, "Mr. Higginson and three or four more of the gravest members of the church laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayer therewith. This being done, there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson also." After this, the question who should be the ruling elder, and who the deacons, was considered; and Henry Houghton was named for elder, and John Horne, or Orne, and Charles Gott, for deacons. But the final decision was deferred to another day; and to the same time the completion of the work of organization; namely, "the full choice of elders and deacons, and ordaining them," and the public recognition of the elect pastor and teacher; or, as Morton expresses it — "for their entering into a solemn covenant with God and one another, and also for the ordaining of their ministers." In the meantime Mr. Higginson was requested to draw up a "Confession of Faith and Church Covenant according to the Scripture." Thirty copies of these papers were made and delivered to as many persons, who were invited to unite in this Christian organization; and an invitation was sent to the church at Plymouth to be present at the contemplated solemnities, and to give their approbation and concurrence in the organization of the church and the institution of its officers.*

* Report of church committee, in *Upham's Address*, 1867.

Exactly what this covenant and confession were, we do not know; for the first book of the Salem church records probably was deliberately destroyed, sometime not far from 1660, in order to suppress "some few passages in it which reflected upon particular persons, or upon the whole church, without any church vote, and without due proof." * The covenant, however, there is good reason to believe has been preserved substantially as Higginson wrote it, and as it was assented to by the good men and women of Salem in the year 1629. It was as follows: "We covenant with the [our] Lord and one with another, and [we] do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all His ways, according as He is pleased to reveal Himself unto us in His blessed word of truth" [through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.] †

This covenant is substantially that of the Congregational, or Separatist church of London formed in September, 1592, "in the house of one Fox," which chose Francis Johnson for its pastor, and John Greenwood, the martyr, for teacher. It also

* The chief authorities for the statements in the text are "Francis Higginson's Journal," and "The Company's Agreement with the Ministers," and "The Company's First General Letter," in *Chronicles of Mass.; Prince's Annals*, 257-259, 261; *Hubbard's N. E.*, chaps. xviii-xxi, partic. pp. 116-17; and above all, "Gott's Letter to Gov. Bradford, from Salem, July 30th, 1629," in *Bradford's Hist. Plym.*, 263-66, Deane's ed.

† *Mather*, i, 66, gives this covenant with a few verbal variations and additions, as marked in brackets above.

resembles the covenant of the church of like faith and ecclesiastical principles which was organized in London, in 1616, and had the celebrated Henry Jacob for its first pastor.*

As a basis of this covenant there may have been articles of faith to which the members assented before making these covenant engagements. We know that the Congregationalists of that period had very full confessions of faith, though their covenants were generally brief; and there is every reason to believe that members covenanting together, in some way satisfied one another of their agreement in doctrine and their soundness in the faith, either by assenting to written articles, or by personal communication.†

Morton's Memorial, published in 1669, and recommended for its truthfulness by John Higginson,

* *History of Congregationalism*, vol. III, 207, 263.

† See "The Confession of Faith of certain English people living in Low Countries, exiled," 1596, *Hist. Cong.*, vol. III, p. 223. Also, the history of John Robinson and his church, 1604-1624, *Hist. Congregationalism*, III, chaps. xi and xii, p. 454; and of Henry Jacob's church, 1616-1624, *Ib.*, chap. xiv. The full confession of Barrowe and Greenwood and Penry, leaders of early Congregational movements, might likewise be adduced. — Chaps. iii-vi, *ut sup.* See likewise, *Felt's Ecc. Hist. N. E.*, I, 115-16. *Lechford*, about 1641, describing the method of gathering churches in New England, says: "A convenient number of Christians, allowed by the General Court to plant together, at a day prefixed come together in public manner, in some fit place, and there confess their sins, and profess their faith one unto another, and being satisfied of one another's faith and repentance, they solemnly enter into covenant with God and one another." — *Felt*, I, 429.

the son of Francis, the first teacher of this church, speaks distinctly of a "Confession of Faith," in connection with the "Covenant" of this church. Describing the organization of the church, he says: "It was desired of Mr. Higginson to draw up a confession of faith and covenant in Scripture language; which being done, was agreed upon. And because they foresaw that this wilderness might be looked upon as a place of liberty, and therefore might in time be troubled with erroneous spirits, therefore, they did put in one article into the confession of faith, on purpose, about the duty and power of magistrates in matters of religion."

And, in speaking of the doings of the church on the 6th of August, he says: "The confession of faith and covenant aforementioned was acknowledged only as a direction, pointing unto that faith and covenant contained in the Holy Scripture; and therefore no man was confined unto that form of words; but only to the substance, end, and scope of the matter contained therein."

Hubbard also speaks of a "form of confession of faith, and a church covenant;" and says that those who were afterwards admitted to this church were, "with the confession of their faith, required to enter into a like covenant engagement with the church, to walk according to the rules of the gospel, as to the substance, the same as at the first; but for the manner and circumstances, it was left to the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, to be

so ordered as was judged most conducive to the end; respect being by them always had to the liberty and ability of the person." *

In explanation of what Morton means by a "Direction," and in favor of the presumption that there was a confession of faith as well as a covenant, we have the words of John Higginson, whose father drew up the original confession and covenant. In the records of the First Church in Salem, under date of "1665, Oct. 5," there appears the following entry: "The pastor did then also acquaint the church with the writing he had formerly mentioned, and read unto them, as a help to reduce the doctrine of the synod into practice, it being a Direction for a public profession, after private examination by the elders, which Direction is taken out of the Scripture, it being the same for substance propounded to and agreed upon by the church of Salem at their first beginning, the sixth of the sixth month 1629; it being now printed, that any that desired it should have one of them for their use." †

* In 1636 this covenant was renewed by the church and made more full and explicit, but probably not altered in its general tone. — *Upham's Address*, 1867, pp. 20-30, and Appendix, 63-65. *Morton's Memorial*, Congl. B'd ed., 98-99, and Appendix, 459-64; *Mather (Magnalia)*, 1, 66; *Hubbard*, 119—; *Prince*, 263—, all speak of the "*Confession of Faith*," as well as of the "Covenant" of the Salem church. The question in dispute is, whether it was a single document, called by this double name, or whether there were, as in most modern Congregational churches, both a covenant and articles of belief.

† *Did the First Church of Salem Originally have a Confession of Faith distinct from their Covenant?* By Joseph B. Felt. pp. 15-26.

And by referring to this "Direction," written probably by John Higginson himself, we find that it contained a Trinitarian and Calvinistic confession of faith, in seven articles; also a covenant, and questions to be answered at the baptizing of children.*

On the 6th of August, 1629, according to agreement, the work of organizing fully the church in Salem, and of ordaining its officers, was completed. The little company of believers kept the entire day, as they had previously done the 20th of July, as a season of fasting and prayer, with preaching by both of their ministers. Near the close of the day, the confession of faith and the church covenant were solemnly read, and thirty persons did openly and seriously profess their consent to the same, and did thus constitute themselves a Congregational church of Christ. After

* *Morton's Memorial*, p. 99, Cong'l Board's edition, and Appendix A, pp. 459-464; *Felt, ut sup.*, 23-25.

It is hardly necessary to say that this question of a creed has been warmly debated by very able men in years gone by, and that it has received very careful consideration. Dr. Samuel M. Worcester, pastor of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, was probably the first to call special attention to this matter, in a centennial discourse, preached April 26, 1835, pp. 40-44, and Appendix U and W. See also a sermon preached at Plymouth, December 22, 1848. Also, *Felt's Ecc. Hist.*, i, 115-16; and particularly, his pamphlet referred to above. Judge White, of the First Church in Salem, took strong ground against the opinion that the original covenant and confession of faith were distinct documents. — *New Eng. Congregationalism in its Origin and Purity*; and in the *Congregationalist* newspaper, of January 28, 1875, Dr. Dexter has a long and exhaustive article on the same side.

this, they proceeded to the public ordination of the church officers by the hands of some of the brethren "appointed by the church." While these services were in progress, Governor Bradford and other delegates from Plymouth came into the assembly, having been detained by adverse winds, and joined in the service, giving the infant church and her chosen officers the right hand of fellowship, and wishing "all prosperity and a blessed success unto such good beginnings." *

Thus was constituted the second Congregational church in America, and the first that was really formed on this continent; for the Plymouth church came over an organized body — a complete church, lacking only a pastor.

But this church organization, though so prayerfully and carefully conducted, was so unlike anything with which many of the Salem planters had been familiar in the Old World, that it is not strange that some dissentients should have been found among them. Two leading and influential men in

* *Morton*, 99; *Prince*, 263; *Hubbard*, 116-20. In the same manner, by the imposition of the hands of the brethren, this church ordained John Higginson, son of their first teacher, August, 1660; though he was then forty-four years old, and had been a minister and pastor elsewhere in New England for more than twenty years; and though the pastors of the churches in Ipswich, Lynn, Reading, and Boston were all present, and took part in the other services of the occasion. And so the church have continued to do to this day. — *Records of the Church*, in Mr. Upham's "Address at the Re-dedication of the First Church in Salem, Mass., December 8, 1867," pp. 15-19.

the Salem company — Samuel and John Browne, one a lawyer and the other a merchant — not only disapproved of this new organization, but felt it incumbent on them to set up separate worship, where the Book of Common Prayer should be read, and where the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England should be observed. And not content with this, they indulged in “speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction.”

Governor Endicott was not a man to allow such things, even in members of his own council, and immediately called the schismatics to account. Before the council and ministers the Brownes “accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the Church of England, that they were Separatists, and would be Anabaptists, etc., and said, that” for themselves, they would hold to the orders of the Church of England.* “The ministers answered for themselves, [that] they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists; they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there; and that they came away from the Common Prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much from their nonconformity in their native land, and therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them” — the Common Prayer and ceremonies of the Church of England;

* *Morton*, 100; *Prince*, 264; *Chronicles of Mass.*, 144, 200.

"because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God."

In these sentiments the governor and council, and the generality of the people, fully concurred. But the Brownes were men of high spirit, and insisted on their own views and practices. So the governor told them that New England was no place for them; and sent them back to England. They went, breathing out threatenings against the governor and the ministers of the colony, and on their arrival in England entered complaints against the governor and council, and demanded reparation for injuries done them. The London Company referred the matter to a committee chosen in part by the Brownes themselves. But how the matter was settled we are not told; though the malcontents do not seem to have done the colony any material injury.*

The organization of this church in Salem, in 1629, was one of the memorabilia of Congregationalism. It constituted the first chapter in the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts Colony, and gave direction to subsequent church movements in New England for at least an entire generation.

* *Chron. Mass.*, 89-91, 94, 123, 223, 287. *Morton* (p. 100) says that "both of them [were] amongst the number of the first patentees, men of estates, and men of parts and port in the place." "The one, Mr. John Browne, is sworn an assistant here, and by us chosen one of the council there," etc. *Letter to Endicott* — *Chron. Mass.*, 168.

For, though not the first introduction of Congregationalism into this country—that having been done by the Leyden church at Plymouth, nine years before—it was, nevertheless, the commencement of a new era in the history of American Congregationalism. The church at Plymouth had been suffered to live, and to become a beacon light to other and more influential parties across the ocean. It had been hated and despised, and yet had not been destroyed, because the churchmen and statesmen of England had not deemed it of sufficient importance to make war upon, and because they had full employment at home. So the Plymouth church was protected from her enemies, as was the “woman,” the symbol of the true church, who fled to the wilderness from the persecutions of the Dragon, and had a place of safety prepared for her of God.*

Up to this time, the Plymouth church had visibly exerted but little influence on men of wealth and position in the Old World. Certainly very few of this class had openly espoused her creed or identified themselves with her noble enterprise; though many must have looked with admiration on the heroic endurance and the dawning triumph of the good men and women who had literally taken their lives in their hands to lay the foundations of a purely Christian colony in this wilderness. Now, however, a new epoch opens in the history

* *Revelation*, xii, 1-6.

of Christian colonization and in the history of Congregationalism. Quite a different class of men have been gradually brought by the study of God's word, and by bitter experience of the English hierarchy, to adopt opinions identical in most points with those long before reached by the despised Separatists of the Plymouth church. Men of wealth and position in society are now prepared to establish Christian colonies in the New World, where the simple Biblical institutions and ordinances of religion should take the place of the pompous and burdensome rites and ceremonies of a despotic hierarchy; and where the persecuted nonconformists might have liberty to worship God agreeably to the directions of His word and the convictions of their own enlightened consciences.* These new adventurers were not consciously Congregationalists. Indeed, they hardly knew what Congregationalism was. But they had determined to take the word of God for their guide, and to organize their religious institutions, and to regulate their civil affairs, as nearly as possible according to that inspired and unerring directory. Not one of the ministers provided by the Massachusetts Company, nor one of the influential laymen, as far as is known, was a full believer in the Plymouth church polity. Of Mr. Skelton alone it is said that he was "studious of that way"—had studied

* See *Hubbard's Narrative in Chron. Mass.*, chap. ii; *General Considerations for the Plantation in New England*, *Ib.*, chap. xiii; *Prince*, 247-248.

somewhat the opinions of these Christian professors—before leaving England. But he evidently considered himself, and was regarded by others, as simply a nonconformist to the imposed rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. In point of fact, the Massachusetts Company were decidedly prejudiced against what they called “Brownism” and “Separatism,” which they regarded as the religion of the Plymouth church; so much so, indeed, that they would not allow the Rev. Mr. Smith, who was an acknowledged Separatist, a passage in one of their vessels, until he had entered into written obligations not to preach in the plantation without the express permission of the governor.* And yet, these colonists, and these carefully chosen ministers, and their governor and his council, with two exceptions, and the chief men of the colony—when called to organize a church and establish the institutions of religion, with the word of God for their only guide—all fell quietly and naturally into “the Congregational way;” just as the persecuted Protestant churchmen did in Frankfort, in the days of Queen Mary; just as other exiled Christians in other parts of Germany did; just as multitudes of good men in England did, when once relieved from the thralldom of the national church, and allowed to resort to the Scriptures as a guide to church

* *Magnalia*, 1, 331; *Chron. Mass.*, 142, and note 4; *Hubbard*, 121, Cambridge, ed. 1815.

organization and order; and as good men the world over have done, and will continue to do, in like circumstances, while the world shall stand.

The Rev. Mr. Smith, and some thirty-five of the Leyden church, it is true, came in company with these new settlers to Salem, and their conversation may have done something to give direction to the Salem brethren. And Dr. Fuller, the good and intelligent deacon of the Plymouth church, had also been in Salem in time of sickness, and had greatly endeared himself to the people, and had held conversations with Gov. Endicott, and others it is likely, on ecclesiastical affairs, explaining the views and practice of the Plymouth church.* All this no doubt did much to enlighten and satisfy the people regarding the Congregational system; for Gov. Endicott wrote to Gov. Bradford, May 11, 1629, to this effect: "I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us; and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of the outward form of God's worship. . . . It is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth; and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed Himself unto me, being far from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular." †

* *Bradford*, 263-65.

† *Bradford*, *ut sup.*

But though from this it is evident that Endicott was satisfied with the ecclesiastical views of the Plymouth church, yet it is equally evident that he had, some time previously to Dr. Fuller's visit, reached essentially the same conclusions, from an independent consideration of the subject, and entertained views accordant with theirs, though without knowing it. And what Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson said to the Brownes, in reply to their objection to the order of the Salem church, goes to confirm the view that these ministers and others were well prepared to adopt a Congregational platform, as the result of independent investigation in connection with their experience in England before they came to this country.

Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder-Working Providence," in describing the progress of settlements in New England from 1628 to 1652, confirms this general view. He says "of the first church of Christ gathered at Salem," that, though at first the "number of the faithful people of Christ were but few, yet their longing desire to gather into a church was very great, and [they] therefore addressed themselves to find out the blessed rules of Christ." . . . In this way, he says, they found that the word of God penned by the apostles in many epistles, was addressed to particular churches, consisting of such as are beloved saints by calling, being tried by the rule of the word. "For the society of such they sought,

and in their beginnings found very few, seven being the least number a church can be gathered, or conceived by just consequence from the word of God. Having fasted and prayed with humble acknowledgment of their own unworthiness to be called of Christ to so worthy a work, they joined together in a holy covenant with the Lord and one with one another, promising, by the Lord's assistance, to walk together in exhorting, admonishing and rebuking one another, and to cleave to the Lord with a full purpose of heart, according to the blessed rules of His word made known unto them."

Baillie, the maligner of the Congregationalists, charged the Plymouth church with having leavened all the adjacent churches in New England with their sentiments. Cotton replied: "How far they of Salem took up any practice from Plymouth, I do know. Sure I am that Mr. Skelton was studious of that way before he left Lincolnshire. If the dissuader knew the spirit of those men who came hither, after Plymouth, he would easily discern they were not such as would be leavened by vicinity of neighbors, but by the divinity of the truth of God shining forth from the word." *

From all this we conclude that, though the Salem colonists may have conversed with the Plymouth men and learned their ecclesiastical views, they yet adopted the Congregational polity rather from

* *Felt's Ecc. Hist.*, 1, 119.

independent study of God's word than from any direct influence exerted on them after their arrival in this country.

Higginson was not a man likely to take up an opinion on so grave a subject without careful investigation. Skelton, we are told, was "studious of that way" before he left England, and Endicott distinctly declares that these Plymouth views were the same which he had professed and maintained from the time of his conversion to God. So that the establishment of this Congregational church, and of all that succeeded it in New England, was but a confirmation of what John Robinson had said many years before in relation to the more devout churchmen of his day: that there were a thousand ministers—and he might have added, many thousand laymen—then connected with the Church of England, who "were they secure of the magistrate's sword, and might they go on with his good license, would wholly shake off their canonical obedience to their ordinaries, and neglect their citations and censures, and refuse to sue in their courts," etc.*

Another topic in this connection deserves some attention. The first impression made by the original accounts of this important ecclesiastical movement in Salem is, that the pastor and teacher were selected and ordained before the church was formally organized. But the extract from the

* *Hist. Cong.*, III, 304.

"Wonder-Working Providence," as well as the subsequent history of the New England churches, suggests that there was in point of fact, first, a combination of a few — "seven" at least of the principal men — as a church nucleus, called subsequently "the seven pillars;" and that these men were the actors on the 20th of July, 1629 — the first day of fasting and prayer. This primary organization having been effected, then the principles on which they had organized were written out in a "confession of faith and a covenant," and put into the hands of such others of the planters as were deemed best qualified for church membership. On the second day of fasting, August 6, these other persons were added to the original nucleus of the church, and then the laying on of hands and the formal setting apart of the ministers was repeated, to make these acts the doings of the whole body of believers. And it might also have been because of this anticipated enlargement of their number, that the election of ruling elder and deacons was deferred until this second meeting.

The repeated imposition of hands on Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson was not at all inconsistent with the views of our fathers. For they regarded imposition of hands as simply a designation, or setting apart of a person to office or to a particular work; or, as an investiture of official authority; and as a formality that might be repeatedly observed. Thus, when the men who met at Governor

Endicott's invitation to lay the foundation of a Congregational church in Salem had made choice of a pastor and teacher, it was proper in their view to set them apart by prayer and the imposition of hands. And when they met with a quadrupled number of brethren prepared to enter into covenant and accept these religious teachers as their instructors and guides, it was deemed equally proper to have another and more solemn and public recognition and designation and investiture of these church officials, which was accordingly done on the second day, August 6, 1629.

Thus was formed the first church in Massachusetts Bay; and thus were the officers set apart and ordained to their appropriate work. And after this general plan were the churches organized and the ministers instituted in the early days of the plantation. For even after ministers and churches were multiplied, the people were so jealous of their rights, and so fearful that Episcopacy or Presbyterianism might work in among them, that they often insisted on ordaining their ministers with their own hands, even in the presence of invited ministers.*

* The churches in Charlestown, Taunton, Woburn, Stratford, Ct., Milford, Ct., and other places did this, and many of the soundest writers on ecclesiastical matters in England, as well as America, insisted on this as one of the rights of a church of Christ. See *Cummings's Congregational Dictionary*, Article "Ordination by the People."

NOTE. *Prince* says: "As there seems to be a repeated imposition of hands, the former, on July 20, may only signify their previous separation for their solemn charge; and this latter, August 6, their actual investiture therein."—*N. E. Chron.*, 263, and note. *Hutchinson, Hist. Mass. Bay*, says of the first meeting in Salem, at which Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson were elected pastor and teacher: "Nothing is said of any church being then formed; but on the 6th of August, the day appointed for the choice and ordination of elders and deacons, thirty persons entered into a covenant, in writing, which is said to be the beginning of the church, and that the ministers were ordained or instituted anew. The repetition of this form they probably thought necessary because the people were not in a church state before. It is difficult to assign any other reason."—Vol. 1, pp. 11-12.

This may be true, but it seems more reasonable and probable that the men who first elected and ordained the pastor and teacher really constituted a church—were the "pillars," as the fathers termed them—the nucleus of a church—having made an agreement or covenant with each other to be a church. Else, there would have been an incongruity, not to say utter inconsistency, in their choosing, formally, as they did, a pastor and teacher—of what, if they were not a church? There was no incongruity in repeating the imposition of hands, because they regarded that as simply a setting apart, an institution of the officers of the church—a public recognition of them. There were good reasons for proceeding cautiously in this work. They felt that they were laying foundations in a new world; anticipating the gathering around them of the persecuted nonconformists of all England. They were comparative strangers to each other, most of them. Amidst the multiplied cares and labors of a settlement in the wilderness they could have had but little time or opportunity for deliberation or consultation as a body; and it was a natural and reasonable course, therefore, for a few of the gravest and best of them, who knew each other well, to make a beginning, and thus prepare the way for enlarged operations.

CHAPTER III.

THE PATENT AND CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS REMOVED TO NEW ENGLAND, WITH GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP AND HIS ASSOCIATES—THE DORCHESTER COMPANY—WINTHROP'S FLEET—AT SALEM—CHARLESTOWN—SETTLEMENTS AND CHURCHES AROUND BOSTON, A. D. 1630-1640.

WHILE the little plantation at Salem was ordering its affairs with discretion, events of great importance were transpiring in England. Early in 1629 several gentlemen of "figure and estate," as Hutchinson styles them, dissatisfied with the arbitrary proceedings in Church and State, proposed to the Massachusetts company to remove with their families to New England, on condition that the patent and charter of the company should be removed with them. This proposition was made July 28, 1629, and after due consideration was accepted and ratified, August 29. Among the prominent civilians in this movement were John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson, and Sir Richard Saltonstall.* There were also a

* Others, hardly less prominent in the first movement towards organizing this Christian colony in New England, were Nicholas West, Kellam Browne, William Colbron, John Revell, Increase Nowell, William Vassall, William Pynchon, Samuel Sharp, Edward Rossiter, Thomas Sharp, Mathew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, Samuel Aldersey, John Venn, Nathaniel Wright, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, John Humphrey, Roger Ludlow,

considerable number of learned and devout Puritan ministers interested in the movement. Of the Rev. Messrs. White, Higginson and Skelton, mention has already been made. The celebrated Hugh Peter, or Peters, the Rev. Messrs. John Wilson, George Phillips, John Maverick, and John Warham, were all deeply interested and took an active part in this movement.

The preliminaries being arranged, the company began immediate preparations to emigrate in a body. And the character of its leaders gave it such popularity that hundreds were disposed and anxious to take part in the enterprise.

The first of these emigrants who were ready to sail was a company of about one hundred and forty, chiefly from Dorsetshire, the home of that early and constant friend of New England emigration, the Rev. John White. This company consisted largely of active young men. But there were also in it several gentlemen with adult families—men of estates, of position in society, and of education; and at least three who had had some military experience, two as officers in the continental wars. There were, also, two excellent ministers and a skilful physician in this company: constituting, altogether, a very choice body of

Sir Bryam Jansen, William Coddington, Simon Bradstreet, and Sir William Brereton. Several of these gentlemen failed, finally, to embark for New England; but all of them proposed so to do, and most of them actually came.

emigrants, having within themselves all the elements of success.

Their arrangements for sailing being completed, it only remained for them to do — what Endicott and his company were advised to do before emigrating to Salem — to organize themselves into a Christian church. This was done in the New Hospital, at Plymouth, where the company had rendezvoused for their departure, some time near the middle of March, 1629–30.* An entire day of fasting and prayer was devoted to this business. In the forepart of the day the Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester, preached, and in the afternoon the church organization and the election of officers was effected, the Rev. John Maverick being chosen pastor, and the Rev. John Warham teacher, and both were solemnly set apart to their work. This was a purely Congregational church; and yet it was openly organized, without interference by the government. Prince suggests that it was because these men “had taken their passage for New England, and were just ready to sail hither.”†

The company sailed March 20, 1629–30, in “the great ship,” *Mary* and *John*, of four hundred tons, and arrived in Massachusetts Bay, May 30, 1630; thirteen days in advance of any of Governor Winthrop’s immediate fleet. The passengers with their

* Roger Clap’s *Memoirs*, in *Chron. of Mass.*, compared with *Prince’s Chron.*, 271, 360.

† *N. E. Chron.*, 370.

goods were landed in "a forlorn place," on Nantasket point, the captain refusing to take them up into the Charles river according to his agreement.* Fortunately, they were able to procure a boat from some old planters in the neighborhood, and a part of the company made their way up to Charlestown; where they found Thomas Walfourd, a blacksmith, living in a thatched cottage, and several Indians in wigwams. Not regarding Charlestown as a desirable place for settlement, they worked their way up the beautiful Charles river, to the neighborhood of the present United States Arsenal in Watertown. Here they landed at "a well watered place," which was called Dorchester Fields, and which was subsequently named Watertown. This spot seems to have pleased the explorers, and would probably have been made the seat of this little colony, had not another party found a more attractive place of settlement, nearer to the ship, abounding in good pasturage for their cattle, of which they had a considerable stock in the ship. This spot was called by the Indians Matapan. After some hesitation, this was made their final resting place, and called Dorchester, in

* *Drake (History of Boston, 22, 82)* suggests, that Capt. Squeb may have thought that he had reached the mouth of Charles river, at Nantasket, and so had fulfilled his agreement with the passengers; for Capt. Smith in his "Relation," speaks of "the Bay of Massachusetts, otherwise called Charles River." *Trumbull* says that Squeb "was afterwards obliged to pay damages for his conduct." — *Hist. Conn.*, 1, 8; *Drake*, 83, note.

honor of the English town from which many of the company had emigrated. Here a town was laid out, lots were distributed, and arrangements made for building somewhat extensively. This was in June, 1630.

The wealth and enterprise of this company soon made this the most important settlement in Massachusetts. The township originally stretched from South Boston Point, westward and southward, about thirty-five miles, and had an average width of from six to eight miles.*

But the Dorchester company was simply the vanguard of a great host who followed Winthrop into this new world. The whole number of souls in this wonderful emigration was not far from fifteen hundred; requiring a fleet of fifteen or more vessels for their accommodation.

The *Arbella*, with Governor Winthrop on board, accompanied by the *Jewell*, the *Ambrose*, and the *Talbot*, which sailed next after the *Mary* and *John*, April 8, 1630, arrived at Salem between June 12 and July 2. The remainder of the fleet, including the *Mayflower*, *Whale*, *Hopewell*, *William* and *Francis*, *Tryal*, *Charles*, and the *Success*, did not sail from Southampton till some

* *Clap's Mem.*; *Prince*, 277, 369; *Winthrop*, i, 28, 94, 363; *Drake's Hist. Boston*, 83; *Hist. Dorchester*, by the Dorchester Antiquarian Society. In 1633 the town paid about one fifth of the entire tax of the colony. It was assessed £80; while Boston paid only £50. *Wood* called it, in 1633, "the greatest town in New England." — *Chron. Mass.*, 395, and note 3.

time in May, and arrived at Charlestown and Salem between July 1 and 5. The Gift arrived August 20, and the Handmaid at Plymouth, October 29. All at length came safely and without loss; though some of them had long and tempestuous passages. Two other vessels came on private account, whose names are not given.*

Governor Winthrop and his immediate associates, in the *Arbella* and her three consorts, were received by Endicott and the chief men at Salem with due respect and cordiality; though the sturdy old governor knew that he was to be superseded, and that the government was to be materially changed by these new-comers.† It was, however, a sad, discouraging prospect which opened before these worn and sea-sick immigrants at Salem. They found the settlement pinched with want and

* For particulars see Dudley's Letter in *Chron. Mass.*; *Prince*, 309, 329; *Winthrop*, i, 1-3, 29, 37, 41; *Chron. Mass.*, 127, notes, 311.

† There was something rather anomalous in the early relations of Endicott and Winthrop. It does not appear that Endicott ever made any formal surrender of his gubernatorial powers. There seemed to be a tacit understanding between them, that the one should not formally assume the official position to which he had been chosen before embarking with the charter from England; and that the other should quietly, and without formality, lay down his office received in 1628 and subsequently acknowledged by the Massachusetts Company, even after the removal of the charter and patent to America had been resolved upon and the remodeling of the government had been agreed upon. — See *Drake*, 70, 94, notes. The first formal announcement of Winthrop's position as governor of the new colony was made by his election by the people at Charlestown, August 23, 1630.

abounding in discontented and disheartened men ; and worse than all, they found it suffering from severe sickness—eighty persons out of about three hundred having died in the course of the preceding winter, while many of the survivors were still weak and far from well. There was not corn enough in the place to last a fortnight, and all other provisions were scant. They were met, too, with the alarming intelligence that a general conspiracy of Indians had been formed to extirpate the English. And to add to the general discomfort of the new-comers, Salem was found to be a bad location for the capital of a colony ; so that it was felt to be necessary to seek immediately a more central and favorable spot on which to build the chief town. Accordingly, Governor Winthrop and others started at once on an exploring expedition to “the bottom of the bay.” They visited Boston harbor, went up the Mistick river some miles, and finally settled on Charlestown as the most suitable place for the capital of Massachusetts.

The fleet which rode at anchor in Salem harbor was ordered immediately to Charlestown, and a settlement was at once begun there. The place had been previously examined by Graves, the colonial surveyor, and the town partially laid out in two-acre lots, and a large house built for common use, under Governor Endicott’s direction, and thus the work of settlement materially facilitated. The new governor and several of the

patentees took possession of "the great house," until their own dwellings could be prepared; while "the multitude" set up cottages, booths, and tents about the town hill; "their meeting place being abroad under a tree, where," Roger Clap says, "I have heard Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips preach many a good sermon."

But the whole company which came with Winthrop did not attempt to settle at Charlestown, nor indeed compactly anywhere, as was at first proposed; but, as Deputy Governor Dudley tells us, they were forced for their present shelter, "to plant dispersedly: some at Charlestown, which stands on the north side of the mouth of Charles river; some on the south side thereof, which place we named Boston (as we intended to have done the place we first resolved on); some of us upon Mistick, which we named Medford; some of us westwards, on Charles river, four miles from Charlestown, which place we named Watertown; others of us two miles from Boston, in a place we named Rocksbury; others upon the river of Saugus, between Salem and Charlestown; and the Western men, four miles south from Boston, at a place we named Dorchester." *

* *Mass. Chron.*, 152-53, 351, 373-78; *Prince*, 261, 309, note. In 1633 the "great house built in anno 1628" was purchased for £16, for a meeting-house, and continued to be used as such until 1636, when a new meeting-house was built "between the town and the Neck." — *Chron. Mass.*, 313-14, 375.

Amidst the labors and anxieties, the gloom and discouragements of their enterprise, these good men did not forget the great object and end of their mission to America—to enjoy religious liberty and to establish and propagate religious institutions, unfettered by laws or regulations other than those authorized by the word of God.

The fleet having all arrived, a day of general thanksgiving was kept throughout the plantations, on the 8th of July. On the 30th of the same month, a day of fasting and prayer was observed at Charlestown (and the other plantations were desired to unite in the same) that they might humble themselves before God, and “seek Him in his ordinances,” in view of the prevailing sickness; and “that then, such godly persons among them as know each other, may publicly, at the end of their exercise, make known their desire and practise the same, by solemnly entering into covenant with the Lord to walk in his ways.”* Accordingly, at the close of the afternoon services on this fast day, Governor Winthrop, Mr. Isaac Johnson, Mr. Thomas Dudley, and Rev. Mr. Wilson came forward and entered into covenant with God and one another, to walk together as a Christian church; promising afterwards to receive such others as should appear fitly qualified for church fellowship. Thus was laid, with prayer and fasting,

* *Prince*, 310; *Bradford*, 277-8.

the foundation of the fourth church in New England.*

On the Sunday following, five other persons came forward and entered into covenant with this church: Increase Nowell, Thomas Sharp, Simeon Bradstreet, William Gager, and William Colbron, all leading and influential men in the colony. Others were soon added to their number, so that by October 10, 1632, no less than one hundred and fifty-one members had joined in full communion with the Charlestown church.

On the 27th of August the church kept another day of solemn fasting, with reference to the choice of its officers; and the Rev. John Wilson was chosen teacher, Increase Nowell ruling elder, and William Gager and William Aspinwall deacons. These officers were all set apart to their work by the imposition of hands, with the "protestation of all, that it was only a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England." Mr. Gager, "a right godly man and a skilful chyrurgeon," dying on the 30th of September following, Mr. William Colbron, a man of respectability and influence, was chosen to fill the vacant deaconship, and on the 25th of October was invested with office by the imposition of the hands of the minister and ruling elder. †

* The three other churches in New England were the Plymouth, Salem, and Dorchester churches.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 31-37; *Prince*, 310-22; *Bradford*, 277-79.

The covenant of this church, like others of the earliest Congregational churches, was brief and comprehensive, as follows :

“ We whose names are hereunder written, being by His most wise and good Providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite ourselves into one Congregation or Church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, our Head, in such sort as becometh all those whom He hath redeemed and sanctified to Himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously (as in His most holy Presence) promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the Rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere conformity to His holy ordinances, in mutual love and respect, each to other, so near as God shall give grace.”

On the same day on which the Charlestown church was formed (July 30, 1630) a church was organized at Watertown, where Sir Richard Saltonstall with a considerable company of kindred spirits had begun a settlement. The proceedings there were essentially the same as at Charlestown : a day of fasting and prayer was kept, on the afternoon of which “about forty men,” according to Mather, entered into covenant and subscribed their names to the same, promising to forsake “all evil ways,” and to give themselves wholly unto

Colbron's name is spelled in seven or eight different ways : Colburn, Colbrand, Coleborne, etc., etc. He wrote *Colbron*. — *Winthrop*, i, 37, note 2 ; *Chron. Mass.*, 86, 87, 338.

the Lord, "to do Him faithful service, observing and keeping all His statutes, commands and ordinances, in all matters concerning our reformation, His worship, administrations, ministry and government." *

* As this covenant is somewhat peculiar, it is here given entire, from *Mather's Magnalia*, i, Bk. iii, p. 341. Mather says: "In after time, they that joined unto the church subscribed a form of the covenant somewhat altered, with a *confession of faith* annexed unto it."

Formal, written confessions of faith were less important to these very earliest churches, because their numbers were few, and they could and did make themselves personally acquainted with the doctrinal views and the daily lives of each other.

The original covenant was as follows:—

"July 30, 1630.—We whose names are hereto subscribed, having through God's mercy escaped out of [the] *pollutions* of the world, and been taken into the *society* of his people; with all thankfulness do hereby both with *heart* and *hand* acknowledge, that his gracious goodness, and fatherly care, towards us: and for further and more full declaration thereof, to the present and future ages, have undertaken (for the promoting of his *glory* and the church's *good*, and the honor of our blessed *Jesus*, in our more full and free subjecting of ourselves and ours under his gracious *government*, in the practice of, and obedience unto all his holy ordinances and orders, which he hath pleased to prescribe and impose upon us) a long and hazardous voyage from *east to west*, from *Old England* in *Europe*, to *New-England* in *America*; that we may walk before him, and *serve him without fear in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our lives*: and being safely arrived here, and thus far onwards peaceably preserved by his special *providence*, that we may bring forth our intentions into *actions*, and perfect our *resolutions* in the beginnings of some just and meet *executions*; we have *separated the day* above written from all other services, and *dedicated* it wholly to the Lord in divine employments, for a day of *afflicting our souls*, and humbling ourselves before the Lord, to *seek him*, and at his hands, a way to

The church then made choice of the Rev. George Phillips as their pastor, who had accompanied them from England, coming in the Arbella with Governor Winthrop, who calls him "a godly man, specially gifted and very pleasant in his place." *

Mr. Phillips was probably better acquainted with the Congregational system, as set forth by John Robinson and Henry Jacob, and was from the first more favorably inclined towards it, than

walk in, by *fasting and prayer*, that we might know what was good in his sight: and the Lord was intreated of us.

"For in the end of that day, after the finishing of our publick duties, we do all, before we depart, solemnly and with all our hearts, *personally*, man by man for our selves and ours (charging *them* before Christ and his elect angels, even *them* that are not here with us this day, or are yet unborn, that they keep the promise unblameably and faithfully unto the coming of our Lord Jesus) promise, and *enter into a sure covenant* with the Lord our God, and before him with one another, by *oath* and serious *protestation* made — to renounce all *idolatry* and *superstition*, *will-worship*, all humane *traditions* and *inventions* whatsoever, in the worship of God; and forsaking all *evil ways*, do give our selves wholly unto the Lord Jesus, to do him faithful service, observing and keeping all his statutes, commands, and ordinances, in all matters concerning our *reformation*; his worship, administrations, ministry, and government; and in the carriage of our selves among our selves, and one towards another, as he hath prescribed in his holy word. Further swearing to cleave unto *that* alone, and the true sense and meaning thereof to the utmost of our power, as unto the most clear *light* and infallible *rule*, and all-sufficient *canon*, in all things that concern us in this our way. In witness of all, we do *ex animo*, and in the presence of God, hereto set our names or marks, in the day and year above written."

* Winthrop, 1, 14, 11, 171.

any of the earliest Massachusetts divines before the time of John Cotton. He early expressed his unwillingness to take a pastoral charge simply on the authority of his prelatical ordination; telling Dr. Fuller, of Plymouth, that if they would have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he would leave them. Not that he renounced the Church of England, any more than did Robinson or Jacob, or even Winthrop, but he denied the right of any man or body of men to make a minister for a particular church; believing that the right to do this was lodged in each church itself by the Great Head of the Church. And to this position all the churches of Massachusetts ultimately came; for they elected and ordained, or set apart to their special service, their respective ministers. Possibly, however, there was at first more of the Independent spirit in this Watertown church than in any other of the first churches of Massachusetts, Salem alone excepted.*

The doings of the first court of this colony,

* *Morton's Memorial*, Appendix, 442; *Chron. Pilg.*, 398, note 3.

NOTE. As early as February, 1631, Mr. Phillips and his ruling elder, Mr. Browne, an influential layman, were called before the Governor and Assistants at Boston, for assembling the people of Watertown together and advising them not to pay a tax which had been levied on them by the court, "for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." It was not until it was explained to them that the government of the colony was a representative government, chosen by the freemen, who had in fact the entire control of public affairs, and could

held at Charlestown, August 23, 1630, are quite significant of the spirit of the men engaged in this undertaking. The first thing proposed was, how the ministers who accompanied the colonists to Charlestown and vicinity should be maintained.

elect and remove assistants at their will, that the minister and elder retracted their advice, and acknowledged their error.

Judge Savage says: "In the objection of these gentlemen of Watertown to the tax, there was much force; for no power was by the charter granted to the governor and assistants to raise money by levy, assessment, or taxation. . . . To the agitation of this subject we may refer the origin of that committee of two from each town, to advise with the court about raising public moneys, 'so as what they should agree upon should bind all.' . . . This led to the representative body, having the full power of all the freemen, except that of elections." — *Winthrop*, i, 70, note 1.

At a later period, though in the lifetime of their first pastor, another instance of their independent spirit appeared, on the 9th of November, 1640; when, Governor Winthrop informs us, "The church at Watertown ordained Mr. Knowles, a godly man and a prime scholar, pastor; and so they had two pastors and no teacher; differing from the practice of the other churches, as also they did in their privacy, not giving notice thereof to the neighboring churches, nor to the magistrates, as the common practice was." — *Hist. N. E.*, ii, 18. Why this was done, we are not informed; but it was evidently a very strong assertion of the independence of the individual church. Possibly Phillips and his church may have begun to feel that there was, even then, too strong a tendency towards the consolidation of churches, and adopted this course to reassert the individual rights of churches. The act seems not to have provoked any special animadversion.

Other instances of freedom of thought and opinion are mentioned in the earliest accounts of Watertown, which show that the minister and elder, and people generally, were quite disposed to do their own thinking, and had little scruple in expressing their views. — *Winthrop*, i, 58, 67, 70.

And it was agreed, first, that houses should be built for them at the public charge; Governor Winthrop promising to see that this was done for Mr. Wilson at Charlestown; and Sir Richard Saltonstall, that it was done for Mr. Phillips at

This is explained not only by the fact that Mr. Phillips had imbibed quite fully the old Independent spirit, but by the fact also that his ruling elder was Richard Browne, who, though pronounced by Hubbard a man of "rash and violent spirit," is yet declared to have been "a man of good understanding, and well versed in the discipline of the Separation, having been an elder in one of their churches in London." . . . "Mr. Phillips was at the first more acquainted with the way of church discipline since owned by Congregational churches; but being then without any to stand by him (for woe to him that is alone) he met with much opposition from some of the magistrates, till the time that Mr. Cotton came into the country, who by his preaching and practice did by degrees mould all their church administrations into the very same form which Mr. Phillips labored to have introduced into the churches before."—*Hubbard*, 186-7.

Though a wherryman in England, and authorized by the court of Massachusetts "to keep a ferry over Charles river against his house," Mr. Browne was evidently a man of superior intelligence and worth; for he was the representative of Watertown in the first General Court, May, 1634, and from 1635 to 1639, and from 1647 to 1655 with the exception of one year.

Richard Browne's intelligence and familiar acquaintance with English Separatism, and even his warm temper, suggest his possible relationship to Robert Browne, the reputed father of English Separatism. *Hubbard* says that by means of his wherry Richard Browne saved Dr. Ames and Mr. Richard Parker, two devoted Puritan ministers, from their pursuers; and got them on board a vessel at Gravesend, and out of the country. See some accounts of these two gentlemen, and their relation to Congregationalism, in *Hist. Cong.*, III, 337-9; also, in *Hubbard*, *ut sup.*; *Winthrop*, I, 55; and *Farmer*, art. Brown.

Watertown. It was also agreed that Mr. Phillips should be paid an annual salary of thirty pounds a year, and Mr. Wilson twenty until his wife came over. Now, considering that gold would then purchase at least four times as much as it now will, this provision must be regarded as very liberal for persons in the circumstances of our first settlers.*

But the work of settlement was greatly retarded by the sickness and mortality which almost immediately began to appear among the unhoused, seasick, homesick, overworked and poorly fed colonists.†

The greatest mortality was among the women, many of whom had been delicately brought up and never inured to hardships of any kind. Before the end of August, men and women were dying almost daily; and many were weak, and sick, and miserable, from the effects of their long and hard sea-voyage and their exposures after landing, having nothing but temporary huts and

* *Prince*, 313-14; *Winthrop*, 1, 30, note 3. *Felt* says that to Mr. Phillips was assigned as salary, "three hogsheads of meal and one of malt, four bushels of Indian corn, and one of oatmeal, a half a hundred of salt fish, twenty pounds for apparel and other provisions, or forty pounds in money."—*Ecclesiastical History of New England*, 1, 140.

† "In the absence of bread," Captain Johnson tells us, "they feasted themselves with fish. The women, once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the mussells and clam bankes, where they daily gathered their families' food, with much heavenly discourse of the provision Christ had formerly made for many thousands of His followers in the wilderness."—In *Felt*, 1, 146.

tents for shelter; while their provisions immediately became short, and conveniences, and even suitable medicines for the sick, were wanting. Among the earliest victims of disease were Mrs. Pynchon, wife of William Pynchon, one of the assistants; Mrs. Coddington, the wife of another assistant; Mrs. Phillips, wife of Rev. George Phillips; and Mrs. Alcott, sister of the Rev. Thomas Hooker. And during the same month, the Lady Arbella, the beautiful and devout daughter of the third Earl of Lincoln, and wife of Isaac Johnson, another of the assistants, died of the prevailing sickness in Salem, greatly lamented. And a month later, her husband, one of the most influential men, and the very wealthiest man of the colony, followed his beloved wife. And not long after, another of the assistants, Mr. Rossiter, also a wealthy, influential and devout man, died. Other important men and estimable women, and a multitude of the common people, sickened and died during the summer and autumn of 1630; so that by the end of November it was estimated that not less than two hundred had fallen victims to the hardships of this undertaking and the diseases contracted on the passage to New England.*

* *Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*, dated March 28, 1631; *Prince*, 313, 318-19; *Winthrop*, 1, 34, 44. *Roger Clap*, describing this season of want immediately after the landing of Winthrop's company, says: "Bread was so very scarce that sometimes I thought the very crusts of my father's table would have been very sweet unto me; and when I could have meal and

On the return of Winthrop's fleet to England, a hundred or more persons, disappointed in their expectations and discouraged by the dismal prospects before them, left the colony. Among these were many hired servants of the company,* whom the governor had been compelled by the scarcity of provisions to release from their engagements, though they had cost the company from sixteen to twenty pounds each. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the brave men and women who had come to plant this Christian colony in Massachusetts Bay remained at their posts, determined to do their great work, or to die by the way.†

But suddenly there arose an unexpected and most serious objection to Charlestown as a site for a large town. There could be found but a single spring of running water in all that territory—

water and salt boiled together, it was so good, who could wish better!" — *Chron. Mass.*, 351.

* There were about one hundred and eighty of these servants brought over in the fleet.

† Dudley did not regard the removal from the colony of so many persons as any cause for regret. He says: "The ships being now upon their return, some for England, some for Ireland, there was, as I take it, not much less than a hundred (some think many more), partly out of dislike of our government, which restrained and punished their excesses, and partly through fear of famine, not seeing other means than by their labor to feed themselves — which returned back again; and glad we were so to be rid of them. Others also, afterwards, hearing of men of their own disposition which were planted at Piscataway [sent out by Gorges and Mason] went from us to them; whereby, though our numbers were lessened, yet we accounted ourselves nothing weakened by their removal." — *Chron. Mass.*, 315.

though in point of fact the town abounded in good water; and this spring being near the water's edge was inaccessible at high tide, and afforded an insufficient supply for so large a population as Charlestown even then had. They thought that no other than running spring water was fit for domestic uses; and to the lack of this they erroneously attributed the prevalent sickness immediately after their arrival at Charlestown. This set them to looking for another and better location. Some went up the river to Watertown, as before related; others pitched on Newton or Cambridge; but the governor and some of the leading men went over to Shawmut, on invitation of William Blackstone, an early settler there, and by the advice of Isaac Johnson. Here they found a fine spring of running water; and hither they decided to remove, though they had already begun to build at Charlestown; and before September the first court of assistants was held in Boston.*

* Charlestown Town Records, in *Mass. Chron.*, 378-83. Blackstone, or Blaxton, the "first European inhabitant of Boston, must have been here several years before Winthrop arrived, judging from the number and nature of the improvements around his cottage. He was a Puritan nonconformist clergyman, of studious and recluse habits, a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and brought with him to this wilderness quite a valuable library of nearly two hundred volumes. He devoted himself in this solitude to study and the cultivation of his garden. Not long after the settlement of Boston, though it was made at his own request, and though he was kindly and generously treated by the government, probably finding his retirement

For a time, those who had removed to Shawmut went across the river to attend worship in Charlestown. After awhile the people worshipped alternately on either side of the river; but finally, a majority of them having settled on the Boston side, the pastor removed, and public worship was steadily maintained here, and the Charlestown brethren, in their turn, came over on the Lord's Day and to the weekly church meetings. The place was called "Boston," after a town in Lincolnshire, England, from which came several of the first settlers, and from whence the Rev. Mr. Cotton also came. It ultimately became the capital of the colony; though this seems not to have been determined upon at once; for even three months later, December 6, 1630, we find "the governor and most of the assistants and others" at Roxbury, consulting about building a fortified town on the neck between that place and

too much broken in upon, Mr. Blackstone removed, in the spring of 1635, to the immediate neighborhood of what is now Providence, R. I., though at that time within the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony, which granted him, in 1671, about two hundred acres of land on which he had settled.—*Mass. Chron.*, 160-71; *Winthrop*, 1, 43-45. *Drake* thinks it probable that Blackstone came over with Captain Robert Gorges, in 1623; and may have leased or purchased Shawmut of Gorges.—*Hist. Boston*, 95. His house was probably not far from where the Boston and Lowell freight depot now stands, near the southerly extremity of Cragie's Bridge.—*Ib.*, 90. Isaac Johnson was one of the first to remove to Boston. His lot covered the square made by Tremont, Court, Washington, and School streets.—*Prince*, 311, 313-14; *Chron. Mass.*, 317-18, note 3.

Boston. But this plan was abandoned December 16, and it was agreed to look elsewhere for a better spot. On the 28th of the same month, "after many consultations at Boston, Roxbury, and Watertown, . . . about a fit place to build a town for the seat of government," it was decided to build at Newton, afterwards called Cambridge. A town was laid out in squares, and the streets, intersecting at right angles, were all named; while a square was reserved for a market place in the centre. The governor set up the frame of his house there, and the assistants pledged themselves to build in the same place; while the deputy governor actually built his house there and removed to it with his family. But it soon became manifest that Boston must be the commercial capital of the colony, wherever the government might go; and so the governor removed to Boston, in the autumn of 1631, and the scheme of a fortified capital at Newton was gradually relinquished and the work of founding Boston was resolutely pushed forward.*

The Charlestown people continued to worship at Boston until the planters on either side of the river had increased sufficiently to justify the organization of a new church in Charlestown. For this purpose, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. Thomas James, and thirty-five others — nineteen men and sixteen women living at Charlestown — were dismissed

* *Winthrop*, 1, 38, 77; *Prince*, 325, 386; *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 209.

from the Boston church, October 14, 1632, and organized into a distinct church at Charlestown, on the 23d of November following. This church elected and ordained the Rev. Thomas James as their first pastor, and, probably at the same time, Ralph Mousall and Robert Hale as deacons. Subsequently, probably soon after March 29, 1633, Mr. John Greene was chosen and ordained ruling elder; an office which he held to the time of his death, April 22, 1658. He was the first and the last ruling elder which the church ever had. Seven persons were added to this church in the course of the year 1632, and thirty-six more were added in 1633.

That this organization did not materially weaken the Boston church is evident from the fact that there were still left in the old church between seventy and eighty male members. The covenant of the Charlestown church was almost identical with that of the Boston church. One peculiarity in the original signatures to this covenant is, that the husband and wife appear together in one signature, thus: "Increase, Parnel, Nowell;" "Tho., Christian, Beecher;" "Abra., Grace, Palmer;" "Ralph, Jane, Sprague;" "Edward, Sarah, Converse;" etc., etc.*

The sad reports carried to England by the

* *Charlestown Records*, 379-82; *Foxcroft's First Centennial Sermon*, 12; *Prince's Ann.*, 405-8; *Buddington's History First Church, Charlestown*, 22, 34, 49, 184, 194.

refugees, in the autumn of 1630 and spring of 1631, together with the efforts of the enemies of the colonies — Morton, Gardiner, Ratcliff, and others, who had been sent home for misdemeanors; and even of Gorges and Mason, who bore Massachusetts no good will — discouraged emigration for some two or three years (which, after all, was rather an advantage to the colony than an injury), so that in 1631 but about ninety immigrants came over; and in 1632 the number increased only to two hundred and fifty. But on the 19th of January, 1632-3, the committee of the privy council made quite a favorable report of the colony, as the conclusion of an investigation into its affairs, occasioned by the charges of its enemies: “declaring the fair appearances and great hopes there were, that the country would prove beneficial to the kingdom, as well as profitable to the particular persons concerned; and that the adventurers might be assured, that if things should be carried on as was pretended when the patents were granted, and according as by the patent is appointed, his majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply anything further which might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of the people there.” *

This greatly encouraged the friends of the enterprise, and so stimulated emigration that the number

* *Hutchinson's Mass. Bay*, 1, 31, 32; *Holmes's Ann.*, 1, 213-14.

who came over in 1633 was very large—ships arriving at Boston all summer, sometimes as many as twelve or fourteen in a month. And for about seven years after, people continued to swarm into the country, notwithstanding the further efforts of enemies, who procured an order from the king in council, February, 1633-4, staying the vessels then in the Thames ready to sail for America, and calling the masters and freighters before the council, and ordering Mr. Cradock, the chief adventurer in the Massachusetts plantation, to appear before the board and bring the letters patent of the plantation. But Cradock and his friends were able to make such an exhibition of their doings as to quiet the fears of the government, and prevent any check to emigration; which continued to flow on, until the rising spirit of the Puritans and the waning power of the court party in England gave hope of early and essential reformations in the mother country.*

Among the persons who arrived during these

* *Prince*, 421-23, 425; *Winthrop*, 1, 100, 102, 104, and notes; *Hutchinson*, 1, 31-34. *Hubbard* gives the orders in council, and the report of the committee, p. 150.

Thomas Morton, the life-long enemy of New England, in a letter to his friend Jeffries, written May 1, 1634, represents the result of the last hearing before the council quite otherwise than is given above. He says: "The king hath reassumed the whole business into his own hands, and given order for a general governor for the whole territory to be sent over. . . . The brethren have found themselves frustrated, and I shall see my desire upon mine enemies." See the whole letter in *Hutchinson*, 1, 31.

five years, 1631-1635 inclusive, were some of the most celebrated men in Church and State which the colony ever had: John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians and the first minister of Roxbury, arrived in 1631; as did also the famous Roger Williams. In 1632 came over Rev. Thomas Weld, or Welde, of Roxbury; Rev. Thomas James, of Charlestown; and the Rev. Stephen Batchelor, somewhat unfortunately noted in early New England history, as the first minister of Saugus or Lynn; also, Mr. Richard Dummer, a man of wealth and liberality; and Mr. Timothy Hatherly, the principal founder of the town of Scituate.* In 1633 came those great lights of the New England churches, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone. And among the distinguished civilians, who were hardly less useful in the churches, came John Haynes, "a gentleman of great estate," subsequently governor of Connecticut; Thomas Leverett, an ancient, sincere professor in Mr. Cotton's congregation in England, and afterwards an elder in the Boston church, and the father of Gov. Leverett of Massachusetts; Mr. Atherton Hough, a most important and influential man in Boston; "and many of the men of good estates," who got out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Hooker.† In 1635

* *Winthrop*, 1, 70; *Felt*, 1, 159; *Farmer and Allen*.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 108-9; also pp. 63-64.

came the celebrated Sir Henry Vane, and the famous divines, Richard Mather, John Norton, and Hugh Peters, or Peter, as he wrote his own name. And according to Hutchinson, "many other persons of figure and distinction were expected to come over, some of which are said to have been prevented by express order of the king: as Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Oliver Cromwell, etc." The whole number of immigrants into New England this year fell but little short of three thousand souls, including eleven ministers.*

The energy and wisdom with which the Massachusetts colonists pushed forward their great work of founding a Christian commonwealth in this wilderness, in spite of every obstacle, is the best possible eulogy on Winthrop and his principal associates. Their original plan of settling in a compact body, for mutual defence, had to be abandoned, as we have seen, and they were constrained to make several detached though contiguous settlements instead.† But this they did with so much despatch, that by February, 1631–2, plantations, as they were at first called, had been made

* *History of Massachusetts Bay*, I, 41–42; *Felt*, I, 236.

† Yet the General Court required the several settlements to be very compact. At first no man was allowed to live more than half a mile from the meeting-house, which was made a common centre for the settlement. This explains the early complaints of the farming towns, that the planters had insufficient room. These complaints began to be made as early as 1635. — *Winthrop*, II, 152, note 2.

at Salem, Dorchester, Charlestown, Boston, Watertown, Newtown, Medford, Saugus, Marble Harbor (Marblehead), Roxbury, Wassaguscus (Weymouth), and Winesemet (Rumney Marsh, or Chelsea); in all, twelve distinct settlements.*

Others soon followed, and by August, 1640, twenty Congregational churches had been organized, in eighteen different plantations or townships within the bounds of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, namely: in Salem, Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, Roxbury, Lynn, Charlestown, Cambridge, Ipswich, Newbury, Weymouth, Hingham, Cambridge Second Church, Concord, Dorchester Second Church, Dedham, Quincy, Rowley, Salisbury, and Sudbury. †

And these churches were neither hastily formed nor with insufficient numbers. The course pursued

* Wood, in his *New England's Prospect*, published in 1634, describes most of these plantations.—Prince, p. 390.

† The exact date of all these organizations cannot be given. The following approximates very nearly: (1) Salem, organized August 6, 1629; (2) Dorchester, June 2, 1630; (3) Boston, at Charlestown, July 3, 1630; (4) Watertown, July 3, 1630; (5) Lynn, June, 1632; (6) Roxbury, July, 1632; (7) Charlestown, November 2, 1632; (8) Cambridge, October 11, 1633; (9) Ipswich, ——— 1634; (10) Newbury, ——— 1635; (11) Weymouth, July, 1635; (12) Hingham, September, 1635; (13) Cambridge Second Church, February 1, 1635–6; (14) Concord, July 5, 1636; (15) Dorchester Second Church, August 23, 1636; (16) Dedham, November 8, 1638; (17) Salisbury, ——— 1638; (18) Quincy, September 17, 1639; (19) Rowley, December 3, 1639; (20) Sudbury, August, 1640.—See *Winthrop's Journal*, i, 94–5 and note 2; and pp. 180, 183, 194, 275, 306; *Hubbard*, chap. 28, pp. 181–194; *Magnalia*, vol. i, book iii, *passim*.

in nearly every instance was substantially as follows: a number of men sufficient for town and church purposes having agreed to settle together in a place approved by the magistrates, having made necessary arrangements, and having become sufficiently acquainted with each other's religious views to know that they could harmonize as a Christian organization, appointed a day of fasting and prayer, and invited the neighboring churches to unite with them in seeking the Divine approval and direction in constituting a church of Christ.

On the day appointed, there was a gathering of all the people of the plantation, and of delegates and others from neighboring churches and plantations, as on an occasion of deep and solemn interest. The whole day was devoted to the important business. The forenoon was employed in preaching and hearing the gospel, with special reference to the occasion; the afternoon was given up to the examination of the persons who proposed to unite in constituting the church, and to the organization and recognition of them as a church of Christ; and if time permitted, to the election of church officers.*

* The services at the organization of the Second Church, at Cambridge, February 1, 1635, as described by Gov. Winthrop, furnish a good illustration of the manner of proceeding on such occasions.

"Mr. Shepherd, a godly minister, come lately out of England, and divers other good Christians, intending to raise a church body, came and acquainted the magistrates therewith, who gave their approbation. They also sent to all the neighboring

And this calling of neighboring churches was not a mere compliment. It meant serious and conscientious work. The churches of those days were careful not to lay hands suddenly on any man, either for church membership or for pastoral work.

churches for their elders to give their assistance, at a certain day, at Newtown, when they should constitute their body. Accordingly, at this day, there met a great assembly, where the proceeding was as followeth :

“Mr. Shepherd and two others (who were after to be chosen to office) sate together in the elder’s seat. Then the elder of them began with prayer. After this, Mr. Shepherd prayed with deep confession of sin, etc., and exercised out of Eph. v :—that he might make it to himself a holy, etc. ; and also opened the cause of their meeting, etc. Then the elder desired to know of the churches assembled, what number were needful to make a church, and how they ought to proceed in this action. Whereupon some of the ancient ministers, conferring shortly together, gave answer : That the scripture did not set down any certain rule for the number. Three (they thought) were too few, because by Matt. xviii an appeal was allowed from three ; but that seven might be a fit number. And, for their proceeding, they advised, that such as were to join should make confession of their faith, and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them ; which accordingly they did, Mr. Shepherd first, then four others, then the elder, and one who was to be deacon (who had also prayed), and another member. Then the covenant was read, and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Then the elder desired of the churches, that, if they did approve them to be a church, they would give them the right hand of fellowship. Whereupon Mr. Cotton (upon short speech with some others near him), in the name of their churches, gave his hand to the elder, with a short speech of their assent, and desired the peace of the Lord Jesus to be with them. Then Mr. Shepherd made an exhortation to the rest of his body, about the nature of their covenant, and to stand firm to it, and commended

The history of the Second Church in Dorchester, of which Richard Mather was first pastor, affords a good illustration of the conscientious care of the New England fathers in constituting churches. Winthrop's account is as follows: "Mo. 2, 1, [1636]. Mr. Mather and others in Dorchester intending to begin a new church there (a great part of the old one being gone to Connecticut), desired the approbation of the other churches and of the magistrates; and accordingly, they assembled this day, and after some of them had given proof of their gifts, they made confession of their faith, which was approved of, but proceeding to manifest the work of God's grace in themselves, the churches, by their elders, and the magistrates, etc., thought them not meet at present to be the foundation of a church; and thereupon they were content to forbear to join till further consideration."

The governor then gives briefly the objections of the council to the majority of these people.

them to the Lord in a most heavenly prayer. Then the elder told the assembly, that they were intended to choose Mr. Shepherd for their pastor (by the name of the brother who had exercised), and desired the churches, that, if they had any thing to except against him, they would impart it to them before the day of ordination. Then he gave the churches thanks for their assistance, and so left them to the Lord."

Subsequently, the church held another meeting, and chose the Rev. Thomas Shepard for their pastor: one of the most distinguished, evangelical, experimental. and doctrinal preachers, and most voluminous writers of his day.—*Winthrop*, 1, 179-80; *Mag-nalia*, 1, book iii, chap. 5. [*Shepard* is the true spelling.]

"The reason was, for that most of them (Mr. Mather and one more excepted) had builded their comfort of salvation upon unsound grounds, viz. some upon dreams and ravishes of spirit by fits; others, upon the reformation of their lives; others, upon duties and performances, etc.: wherein they discovered three special errours: 1, That they had not come to hate sin because it was filthy, but only left it because it was hurtful. 2, That by reason of this, they had never truly closed with Christ (or rather, Christ with them), but had made use of him only to help the imperfection of their sanctification and duties, and not made him their sanctification, etc. 3, They expected to believe by some power of their own, and not only and wholly from Christ."

Five months later, August 23, 1636, another council was convened and "a new church was gathered at Dorchester, with approbation of the magistrates and elders, etc." *

This scrap of ecclesiastical history is eminently suggestive and instructive. It shows us, that in those days a church could not be gathered in the

* *Winthrop*, I, pp. 183-4, 194; *Magnalia*, I, book iii, chap. 20. Richard Mather, the great ancestor of all the New England Mathers, was one of the most accomplished and efficient divines of his period, and a remarkably ready, effective writer. He answered the "Thirty-two Questions," propounded to the New England divines by English Puritan ministers, about 1639; and his model of the Cambridge Platform "was that out of which it was chiefly taken." — *Magnalia*, *ut sup.* See also *Felt*, I, 277-82, 380-86.

colony, however distinguished the parties concerned, without the approbation of the magistrates and the churches of the colony. Secondly, that this approbation could not be had until after a careful, personal examination of those who proposed to constitute the church, both as to their religious experience and their doctrinal views. And, thirdly, that this examination was thorough and searching; and that from its decisions there was no appeal.

CHAPTER IV.

JOHN COTTON AND THOMAS HOOKER — 1633.

THE arrival in New England of the Rev. John Cotton and the Rev. Thomas Hooker — “the Luther and Melancthon of New England,” as Mather styles them — on the 4th of September, 1633, may well be regarded as marking an important epoch in Congregational history.* They were both learned men, of great distinction and unquestionable ability, and did more to give form and consistency to Congregationalism in New England than any other two men — possibly than all other men of their age.

Mr. Hooker was a proctor in the University of Cambridge, England, and a fellow of Emanuel College, at that time famed for its divinity students. After leaving the University, he was chaplain and tutor in the family of Mr. Drake, quite a distinguished man, near London. He early acquired celebrity as a home missionary about London; and was called to be the lecturer and assistant of Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of Chelmsford, about the year 1626. His pastoral labors there were greatly blessed; but he was not allowed to continue them long, because of his nonconformity to some of the ceremonies of the Church of England.

* *Winthrop*, 1, 108; *Hutchinson*, 1, 34.

In 1630 Mr. Hooker was silenced and bound to appear before the High Commissions; but, by the advice of friends, he forfeited his bonds and fled to Holland. There he preached at different places, until, hearing that a number of his English parishioners and friends were about to sail for New England, he resolved to follow them. During a part of his stay in Holland, he was associated with the famous Dr. Ames, at Rotterdam; by whom he was highly esteemed, and who employed him as an assistant in his celebrated work, "A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies."

On his arrival in Boston, Mr. Hooker's position among the foremost men of the colony was immediately recognized; and by his preaching and writings he continued to exert an influence second to no man's except, perhaps, Mr. Cotton's. On his removal with his church to Connecticut—of which some account will be given in its appropriate place—Mr. Hooker became the acknowledged father of Congregationalism in that colony. The estimation in which he was held appears in the fact that nearly two hundred of his sermons were transcribed by the Rev. John Higginson and sent over to England for publication. Mr. Hooker remained with his people in Hartford, Conn., until his death, of an epidemical fever. This occurred on the 7th of July, 1647, at the age of 61 years.*

* *Magnalia*, i, 302-21; *Allen*; *Trumbull*, i, 10, 11, chap. xiii, *passim*, particularly pp. 306-8.

The Rev. John Cotton, Mr. Hooker's friend and fellow-exile, was a man less robust in character than Mr. Hooker, but not one whit inferior to him in general scholarship and ability, and in external accomplishments probably his superior. He, too, was a Cambridge scholar, taking his degree of A. M. at Trinity College, but removing soon after, at the request of the fellows, to Emanuel College; where he obtained a scholarship by passing triumphantly a most critical examination. He was a superior classical scholar, and particularly well versed in Hebrew. An elegant writer and an admired preacher, he rose step by step to be head lecturer, dean, and catechist of his college; and was one of the most popular tutors and celebrated disputants in the University. For a time, scholarship and literary distinctions seem to have bounded his ambition. But at length God touched his heart, through the instrumentality of that famous man, the Rev. William Perkins, the theological teacher and devotional preacher of the University; and convinced him that he needed something more than an unblemished moral character to secure the Divine acceptance. After this experience Mr. Cotton began to preach, as did the converted Saul, repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ!

About the year 1612, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, he became the minister of Boston, in Lincolnshire, England. He early entertained scruples about the lawfulness of complying with

all the ceremonies of the Church of England, and exposed himself to considerable inconvenience and trouble by his conscientiousness. For a time he was even suspended from his ministry, and what was still harder to bear, he was subjected to offers of high preferment in the church, if he would yield the most moderate conformity to the ceremonies. He was able, however, to resist; and notwithstanding his refusal to conform, was restored to his ministerial charge, and allowed to live in comparative peace for some twenty years. But finally, the storm of persecution burst upon him; and his diocesan, who had been lenient towards him, and disposed to protect him in his nonconformity, was compelled to interpose, by the express command of the High Commission. Letters were issued for his arrest, and Mr. Cotton left Boston, and lay concealed for some time among friends in or near London; though he was ready at any time to return to his post and suffer arrest, had his friends allowed him so to do. He then proposed to retire to Holland; but was afterwards urged to make New England his place of refuge and usefulness; and after due consideration, decided so to do. About the middle of July, 1633, he succeeded in getting on board the Griffin, a ship bound for America, in disguise, in company with Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, another celebrated Puritan divine. Governor Winthrop tells us "that they gat out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken

Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had been long sought for to have been brought into the High Commissions." So intent were the pursuivants on securing these good men, that they watched this ship until she left the Isle of Wight, where she touched after leaving London, and they thought that they were then sure. But the ministers were taken on board at the Downs, and thus foiled their eager pursuers.

The Griffin arrived safely at Boston on Wednesday, September 4, 1633; bringing about two hundred passengers, including the three distinguished ministers named; and the celebrated civilians, John Haynes, Atherton Haugh or Hough, and many other men of good estates. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone went directly to Newtown (Cambridge), where quite a number of Mr. Hooker's former parishioners were already settled, awaiting his arrival. Mr. Cotton remained at Boston, at the earnest desire of the church there; and ultimately became its beloved and revered pastor.*

The proceedings of the Boston church in receiving Mr. Cotton, a representative Congregationalist, and the light which these proceedings throw on the sentiments, manners and customs of our fathers in relation to ecclesiastical affairs, will justify a longer account of this than has been given of any other ordination in New England.

* *Winthrop*, 1, 108, 109; *Felt's Eccl. Hist. New Eng.*, 1, 168.

Governor Winthrop records that "on Saturday evening [after Mr. Cotton's arrival] the congregation met in their ordinary exercise, and Mr. Cotton being desired to speak to the question, which was of the church, he showed out of the Canticle, VI, that some churches were as queens, some as concubines, some as damsels, and some as doves, etc. He was then (with his wife) propounded to be admitted a member.

"The Lord's day following, he exercised in the afternoon; and being to be admitted, he signified his desire and readiness to make his confession according to order; which he said might be sufficient in declaring his faith about baptism (which he then desired for his child, born in their passage, and therefore named Seaborn). He gave two reasons why he did not baptize it at sea — not for want of fresh water, for he held sea water would have served: 1, Because they had no settled congregation there; 2, because a minister has no power to give the seals but in his own congregation. He desired his wife might also be admitted a member, and gave a modest testimony of her, but withal requested that she might not be put to make an open confession, etc.; which he said was against the apostles' rule, and not fit for women's modesty; but that the elders might examine her in private. So she was asked if she did consent in the confession of faith made by her husband? and if she desired to be admitted, etc.? Whereunto she answered affirmatively. And so both

were admitted, and their child baptized, the father presenting it; the child's baptism being, as he affirmed in another case, the father's incentive for the help of his faith." *

On the 17th of September, there was a meeting of the governor and council and of the ministers and elders of all the churches, to consider about Mr. Cotton's settlement with the Boston church. He had received invitations from several other churches to become their minister; and his old Boston parishioners, who had accompanied him to New England, were anxious to have him go with them to a new location, "where they might keep store of cattle." But it was unanimously agreed that Boston, the capital of the colony, was the fittest place for so distinguished a man. And so great was the desire of the government to secure him for that position, that his Boston parishioners were offered farms in any part of the colony not already belonging to other towns; and it was at first proposed to allow Mr. Cotton some maintenance out of the public treasury, on condition of his "keeping a lecture." On consideration, however, this latter proposal was wisely abandoned as unjustifiable.

On the 10th of October following this decision, a day of solemn fasting was kept in Boston, and probably at the close of the more general religious services of the occasion, which occupied a

* *Winthrop's Journal*, or *Hist. New Eng.*, 1, 109-11.

considerable part of the day — one or more long sermons having been preached — the Boston church proceeded, first, to the election of a ruling elder, Mr. Thomas Leverett, “an ancient sincere professor of Mr. Cotton’s congregation in England,” and the father of the celebrated John Leverett, afterwards governor of Massachusetts. After this, Mr. Giles Firman, “a godly man, an apothecary of Sudbury in England,” was chosen deacon. Then both of these men were ordained by imposition of hands. The church next proceeded to choose Mr. Cotton as their teacher. This was done by hand vote, “all the congregation testifying their consent by erection of hands.”

Mr. Wilson, the pastor of the church, then demanded of Mr. Cotton if he did accept that call to office. Mr. Cotton paused, and then spoke to this effect: “That howsoever he knew himself unworthy and unsufficient for that place, yet, having observed all the passages of God’s providence (which he reckoned up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it.”

Then Mr. Wilson and the two elders, Mr. Thomas Oliver and Mr. Leverett, laid their hands on Mr. Cotton’s head, and the pastor, Mr. Wilson, prayed; then taking their hands from his head they again laid them upon it, and addressing Mr. Cotton by name, did thenceforth “design him,” or set him apart to the office of teacher in that church, “in the name of the Holy Ghost; and did give him charge of the congregation, and did

thereby (as by a sign from God) indue him with the gifts fit for his office; and lastly did bless him."

After this simple and impressive ceremony, the neighboring ministers who were present, at the pastor's suggestion gave Mr. Cotton the right hand of fellowship, and the "pastor made a stipulation between him and the congregation" — that is, pledged the love and coöperation of the people to the new teacher. The ceremonies concluded with an address to the people, from Mr. Cotton.*

Thus closed the deliberate and solemn services attending the election and consecration of the great and good man.

It is not unlikely that Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton had conferred together about the method to be pursued in the installation of a minister; and had settled upon the above, as substantially the pattern for the churches in the institution of their officers. For Winthrop tells us, that on the day following the ordination of Mr. Cotton, namely on the 11th of October, there was "a fast at Newtown, where Mr. Hooker was chosen pastor and Mr. Stone teacher, in such manner as before at Boston." By which we understand, with like ceremonies and services to those employed in the installation of Mr. Cotton over the Boston church.

These details have been given thus fully, not

* *Winthrop*, I, 114-15.

merely for their intrinsic interest, but because, as Hutchinson tells us in 1764, "Mr. Cotton is supposed to have been more instrumental in the settlement of their civil as well as ecclesiastical polity than any other person;" and because the "circumstances and order of proceedings in Mr. Cotton's ordination were intended as a precedent; and the Congregational churches in New England have generally conformed thereto ever since." * Hubbard, writing about the year 1680, having given an account of Mr. Cotton's ordination borrowed from Winthrop, adds: "These circumstances and order of procedure are more particularly set down in this place because ever since that time, they generally proceed after the same manner in the ordination of their minister in the Congregational churches of New England: where there is not a presbytery preëxisting [*i. e.*, where the church has not elders and deacons] either some of the brethren ordain the person, as is above described; which is approved by the learned Dr. Hornbeck, professor of divinity in Holland, and a Presbyterian in his judgment, and engaged in the defence of that cause; or otherwise, where the congregation over whom the person is to be ordained make use of the elders of neighboring churches, by virtue of communion of churches." † That is, the churches either ordained their ministers with their

* *Hist. Mass. Bay*, 1, 34.

† *General Hist. of New Eng.*, 189.

own hands, or, in token of their fellowship with sister churches, employed the elders of those churches to do it for them and on their behalf.

The formal recognition of the distinct offices of pastor and teacher, in these ordinations, though made by the Salem church some years previously, established a practice which the New England churches followed for many years. It may have been derived from the Plymouth church and the teachings of John Robinson and his predecessors and associates; and was founded on their interpretation of Ephesians iv:11: "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, *pastors and teachers*." But the exact distinction between a pastor and a teacher is not very evident; though it is carefully given by the New England ministers, in their answers to the inquiries of the English Puritan ministers, at a date subsequent to this. They say, in Answer 22d, "Pastor and Teacher have various duties in common. Both preach by way of doctrine and application, and administer the seals. Still, there is a difference between them. The teacher is principally to attend upon points of knowledge and doctrine, though not without application; and therefore his work is thus expressed: 'Let him attend on teaching.' But the pastor's principal duty is to preach on 'points of practice, though not without doctrine;' and hence his work is 'to attend on exhortation.'" Mr. Cotton thus explained the distinction: "A pastor or

teacher is of one church, and no more ; and therefore, non-residence is against the rule of Christ. The work of the pastor is to attend to exhortation, and therein to dispense a word of wisdom. But the teacher's office is to attend unto doctrine, and therein to dispense a word of knowledge." And Thomas Weld, the first minister of Roxbury, when serving the colony as Agent in England, in 1641-44, replied to Rathband's objection — that the Congregationalists "usually confounded the pastor's and teacher's office, both equally teaching and applying the word without any difference" — "It is not so. The teacher deals in doctrine, and the pastor in exhortation. Where only one minister is settled he performs both offices." *

But after all, the distinction between a pastor and a teacher seems to have been theoretical rather than practical, for the offices inevitably ran into each other ; a fact which one of the soundest Congregationalists of the first generation of ministers, Rev. George Phillips of Watertown, fully recognized, when he ordained with his own hands another pastor over his own church ; though the church had then no professional teacher. The difficulty of keeping these two offices separate ultimately led to the abandonment of the theoretical distinction between pastor and teacher, and introduced the practice of ordaining, instead, associate pastors or colleagues, when

* *Felt*, 1, 532-3; *Winthrop*, 1, 31, note 1; *Ib.*, 11, 18, note 3.

additional ministerial help was needed by a pastor or a church.

Mr. Cotton, by his studies and experience while connected with the Church of England, had been gradually brought to regard with favor the establishment of independent churches, modelled after the New Testament pattern; and it is not improbable was consulted by Winthrop or his associates, when engaged in organizing their great enterprise for New England. It is certain that he addressed them at Southampton on the eve of their departure for America, in language every way worthy of his head of wisdom and his heart of love. He told them, among other things: "Have special care that you ever have the ordinances planted amongst you; or else never look for security. Have a care to be implanted into the ordinances, that the word may be ingrafted into you, and you into it. Be not unmindful of our Jerusalem at home. Go forth with a public spirit, looking not on your own things only, but also on the things of others. Look well to the plants that spring from you; that is, to your children; that they do not degenerate as the Israelites did. Offend not the poor natives; but as you partake in their land, so make them partakers in your precious faith. Win them to the love of Christ, for whom Christ died. Neglect not walls and bulwarks and fortifications for your own defence; but ever let the name of the Lord be your strong

tower, and the word of His promise the rock of your refuge." *

But Cotton, though a nonconformist Puritan of some fifteen or more years' standing,† was not at that time — when Governor Winthrop left England — prepared to adopt fully the Independent or Separatist ground in reference to the Church of England; no more than was Winthrop and his chief associates.

Still, Mr. Cotton's kindly regard for the brethren at Plymouth, and his great confidence in them, appear from what Dr. Fuller of Plymouth wrote to Governor Bradford, from Charlestown, August 2, 1630: . . . "Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Coddington, a Boston man [England — William Coddington, for several years governor of Rhode Island], who told me, that Mr. Cotton's charge at Hampton was, that they should take advice of them of Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them. Here are divers honest Christians that are desirous to see us, some out of love which they bear to us and the good persuasion they have of us; others to see whether we be so ill as they have heard of us. We have a name of holiness and love to God and his saints. The Lord make us more and more answerable, and that it may be more than a name; or else it will do us no good." ‡

* "God's Promise to His Plantation," in *Felt*, 1, 120.

† *Magnalia*, 1, 237.

‡ *Bradford's Hist. Plym. Plantation*, 278 — Mr. Cotton accompanied his Boston friends who emigrated to this country with

In reply to Baylie's charge, in 1635—that he had adopted “the New English way” [Congregationalism] “as soon as he had tasted the New English air,”—Cotton says: “Two whole years and more giveth a man more than a taste of New English air; nor is that act done incontinently, which is done upon two years' deliberation.” *

Among other useful labors, Mr. Cotton made a digest of the moral laws of the Israelites, as a guide to New England legislation and administration; and fearing lest the popular element should have too much influence on the government of the country, recommended that none should be electors except those who were “visible subjects of our Lord Jesus Christ” and members of His churches: a recommendation which, though apparently wise at the time, and perhaps really so, and certainly intended to accomplish the highest good of the infant Christian colony, afterwards occasioned great excitement and trouble, and was made to work mischief and corruption in the very direction where it was designed to ward off danger.

Winthrop, to Southampton, where they embarked, and there he preached a farewell sermon, from II Sam. vii: 10: “Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more; neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them any more, as before time.” It was published the same year, under the title of “God's Promise to His Plantation.”—*Bradford*, 279, note; *Chron. of Mass.*, 126, note 1, comp'd with pp. 16, and 48, 49, of the same.

* *Felt*, i, 235.

Cotton Mather, in speaking of these works and recommendations of Mr. Cotton, says that, "in these and many other ways, he propounded unto them an endeavor after a *theocracy*, as near as might be to that which was the glory of Israel, the peculiar people of God. But the ecclesiastical constitution of the country was that on which he employed his peculiar cares; and he was one of those *olive trees* which afforded a singular measure of oil for the illumination of our sanctuary." *

There can be no doubt but that the very earliest fathers of New England entertained the high and holy purpose of making the government of these colonies essentially theocratic—or rather, theocratic. The commonwealth of Israel, under Moses and the Judges, was their model, modified by the teachings and example of Jesus Christ when on earth. And this explains the curious admixture of democracy and aristocracy, together with the habitual and devout recognition of the Divine Sovereignty, which appears in the earliest government of the colonies; just as "the Hebrew government, putting aside its theocratical feature, was of a mixed form; in some respects approaching to a democracy, in others, assuming more of an aristocratical character." †

Great success attended the administration of

* *Magnalia*, 1, bk. iii, chap. i, § 20.

† See *McClintock and Strong's Biblical Cyclopædia*, art. Government.

Mr. Cotton in his own church as well as elsewhere. During 1633 more persons were converted and added to this church than to all the other churches in the Bay;* and it was a time of religious prosperity and steady increase with this church until the unfortunate Antinomian controversy arose, which diverted attention from the one thing needful, wrought confusion in the Boston church, and occasioned trouble in other churches of the country, as well as in the State itself.

Cotton was a diligent scholar, devoting some twelve hours a day to his studies; and a voluminous writer, as well as a constant and admirable preacher. His writings were practical, expository, and controversial. Perhaps his great work, "The Doctrine of the Church to which are committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven"—is that by which he is best known in these latter days. Yet the number of distinct publications of the great Boston divine, which are still to be found in our libraries, is not less than thirty-two, exclusive of prefaces to other men's writings.†

* *Winthrop*, i, 121.

† See a list of most of them in the *Prince Library Catalogue*. *Allen* (Biog. Dict.) gives twenty-nine titles. The Rev. Joseph Clark gives thirty-two titles, in *Congl. Quar.*, April, 1861. The late Mr. J. Wingate Thornton, who made John Cotton a special study, had most of these publications in his own library, and duplicates of several. He suggested, as among Cotton's *Prefaces*, one to Hildersham's "CVIII Lectures upon the IV of John;" Norton's "Orthodox Evangelist;" and Norton's Answer to "*Sylloge Quæstionum*." To which may be added a Preface to Norton's Answer to Apollonius, in Latin.—*Holmes' Ann.*, i, 132

Thomas Hooker was quite as famous a preacher as John Cotton, and nearly or quite as voluminous a writer.* His great work entitled "A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline" is an exhaustive defence of the Congregational system, which was commended in the highest terms by that renowned English Independent, Thomas Goodwin, who wrote an introduction to the work, and superintended the publication of the book in London. This treatise, with Cotton's "Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven," did more to settle the polity and usages of the New England churches than any others that were ever written; or, we should rather say, that the labors of these two great men, whose mature views on church polity are presented summarily in these published works, did more to give form and consistency and respectability to New England Congregationalism, than all that had preceded them. They did for the New England Puritans what Robinson and Jacob's did for the English Separatists.†

* *Allibone* gives the titles of eighteen distinct works by Hooker. The Prince Library contains something more than half of them.

† See the *Life of John Cotton* by that brilliant young divine, the late A. W. M'Clure, published by the Mass. Sabb. Sch. Soc.

CHAPTER V.

CONNECTICUT — SETTLEMENTS ON THE RIVER — AT SAYBROOK —
WINDSOR — WETHERSFIELD — HARTFORD — NEW HAVEN, ETC.
— THE UNION — A.D. 1634-1665.

ENERGY and enterprise were characteristics of the founders of the Massachusetts colony. These qualities prevented them from being long satisfied with the moderate boundaries and comparative sterility of their patent. They had heard, through the Plymouth people and through friendly Indians, of a long, fresh river, far away southwest, upon whose banks were excellent meadows. This country had been visited by Mr. Winslow, of Plymouth, at the solicitation of a company of "banishte Indeans," as Bradford calls them, who had been driven from their country by the Pequots. Finding it a "fine place," the Plymouth people repeatedly visited it for trade, and "not without profit." But perceiving that it would be necessary to establish a trading house, in order to secure the fullest success, Mr. Winslow and Governor Bradford made a journey to Boston, to confer with the Massachusetts people about a joint undertaking in that direction.* But the authorities of the Bay colony declined the

* *Bradford*, 311-14; *Winthrop*, 1, 105, 111, 113; *Trumbull*, 1, 15, 19-23.

overture, and Plymouth undertook the enterprise alone.

In 1633 John Oldham, of Dorchester, and three other men went on an exploring excursion to the Connecticut. They were well treated by the Indians, and brought back samples of the wild hemp which grew there abundantly, and of plumbago, which they had discovered in large quantities.* The report of these explorers stimulated anew the desire of the colonists to possess this rich and pleasant land. It would be a very paradise for their rapidly increasing herds. For, to raise "store of cattle" was now the ambition and the most profitable business of the New England planters; and on meadow lands, wherever they could be found, they depended chiefly for their hay. This explains why Dorchester and Mystic, and Saugus, and Ipswich, and Rowley, and Newbury were so soon settled—they abounded in meadows, though salt.

As early as 1634, the people of Newtown (Cambridge) began to agitate the question of removing to Connecticut. And in July of that year six of them went in the "Blessing of the Bay," † to the

* *Winthrop*, 1, 111.

† "July 4, 1631.—The Governor built a bark at Mistick, which was launched this day, and called the Blessing of the Bay."—*Winthrop*, 1, 57; *Young's Chron. Mass.*, 185. She was of eighty tons burthen.

Dutch plantation, "to discover Connecticut river, intending to remove their town thither."* And at the September session of the court, 1634, a formal request was made by Mr. Hooker and his church, for permission to remove in a body to Connecticut. The matter was then warmly discussed for several days, and many reasons alleged, pro and con. The Newtown people urged the want of accommodations for their cattle, so that they could not support their ministers, nor receive and help more of their friends from England. They insisted, too, that it was a fundamental error in their settlements that towns were set so near each other.

Against removal, it was urged that the Newtown people were bound in conscience to remain with the Massachusetts colony, being a part of the body, and being bound by oath to seek its welfare; that their removal would seriously weaken the colony, not only by taking away actual settlers, but also by diverting others from the colony; and finally, that it was a serious and dangerous thing to remove "a candlestick" from its place.

In the end, the court was divided in opinion.

* *Winthrop*, 1, 136. As early as May, 1634, the Newtown people complained to the General Court of "straitness for want of land, especially meadow; and desired leave of the Court, to look out either for enlargement or removal, which was granted; whereupon they sent men to see Agawam and Merrimack, and gave out they would remove, etc." — *Winthrop*, 1, 132.

The governor, Mr. Dudley, two assistants, and fifteen deputies, were for granting the petition of the Newtown people. But the deputy governor, Mr. Ludlow, and all the other assistants, and ten deputies, were against it; and as there were not six assistants in favor of the measure — the patent requiring a majority of both branches — there was no vote.*

This raised a ferment between the governor and assistants and the deputies. The deputies insisted that, as there was a clear majority of the whole court in favor of the motion, it ought to prevail; but the assistants insisted that there should be a clear majority in both branches, and would not

* *Winthrop*, i, 140–41. *Hutchinson* assigns another reason for this proposed emigration of the Newtown pastor and people, as follows: "The great influence which Mr. Cotton had in the colony, inclined Mr. Hooker and his friends to remove to some place more remote from Boston than Newtown." — *Hist. Mass. Bay*, i, 43. Such a statement from any authority less respectable and reliable than Hutchinson would not deserve much notice. And the presumption is against the correctness of this statement, even when supported by so respectable an authority. Such a motive certainly could not have influenced the Dorchester and Watertown movements, which were simultaneous with the Newtown one. The truth is, that there was a degree of restless enterprise among the early settlers of New England which would not allow them to be still while there was a reasonable chance to improve their condition by a removal. But for this, the country would never have been settled as it was, if at all. *Hubbard*, in speaking of this emigration to Connecticut, hints at the same reason for Hooker's removal which Hutchinson states distinctly, saying: "Nature doth not allow two suns in one firmament, and some spirits can as ill bear an equal as others a superior." — *Gen. Hist. N. E.*, 306.

yield. Neither would the deputies yield. And as the court could go no farther, it was agreed to observe a day of humiliation in all the churches, to seek the will of God in relation to this matter. This was done. And Mr. Cotton was called to preach an appropriate sermon; which he did, from Haggai, ii: 4-9: "Yet now be strong, O Zerubabel, saith the Lord; and be strong O Joshua, the son of Josedech, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts." The effect of this discourse and of this day of fasting was at once to calm the public mind, and to induce the Newtown people to relinquish for the time their plan of removing in a body, and to accept such enlargement of their territory as had been offered them by Boston and Watertown.* But, though the Newtown church as a whole were thus quieted, individuals were still determined to go to the new country; and the same was true of the Watertown and Dorchester people.

On the following May an application was made to the court by the Watertown people, for leave to remove in a body; and also by the Dorchester people. This time the court granted the desired liberty, on condition that the people should not go beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. These conditions were accepted, and commissions were taken from the Massachusetts authorities, to

* *Winthrop*, i, 140-42; *Trumbull*, i, 47, 48; *Hutchinson*, i, 48-49.

govern in their name the territory to be possessed on the Connecticut river.*

While the Bay people were thus actively preparing to occupy the banks of the Connecticut, there arrived at Boston, June 16, 1635, a barque from England, sent out by Sir Richard Saltonstall, with twenty men, to take possession of a large tract of land held under the patent of Lords Say and Seal, Brook and others; which patent covered the whole present State of Connecticut, and much more; namely, from Point Judith to New York on the sea, and from thence westward to the South Sea, and northward as far as Worcester.† And on the 3d of October Mr. John Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop, arrived in Boston with a commission from the same patentees, to be governor of that extensive territory; and with directions to take possession of the mouth of the river, build a fort, and erect houses for the

* *Winthrop*, 1, 160; *Hutchinson*, *ut sup.* The bounds of the Massachusetts Colony, defined in their patent purchased of the Council of Plymouth, England, were quite indefinite; but ample enough to include all the country between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans: from three miles north and south of Charles river, and south of the southernmost parts of Massachusetts Bay, to three miles north of every part of the Merrimack river; — a strip of land between forty and fifty miles wide, and as long as from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. — *Trumbull*, 1, chap. 1; *Hutchinson*, 1, 8. See Mr. Barry's summary and very satisfactory account of the original patents and charters of North America in *History of Massachusetts*, chap. vi.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 161; *Trumbull*, 1, 12-14; *Hutchinson*, 1, 64.

accommodation of gentlemen of quality, who were expected directly from England.

Mr. Winthrop lost no time in entering on his duties. On the 9th of November he despatched a small vessel with twenty men armed and provisioned, to take immediate possession of the mouth of the river. This they did; and mounted their cannon and were prepared to dispute the landing of the Dutch, who arrived a few days after them for a like purpose. Thus the country was just saved to Puritanism.* A fort was immediately erected and a garrison placed in it, and a settlement was made around it, called Saybrook, in honor of two of the noble patentees, Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brook. The Rev. John Higginson, son of Francis of Salem, became the minister of the garrison, about April, 1636.

The first company of Massachusetts people who moved to Connecticut was from Watertown. They started early in the spring of 1635. Tradition says that they were at work upon their huts as early as May; † and another tradition is, that they went round by water and up the Connecticut river; thus escaping the hardships experienced by some of the subsequent parties who went through the wilderness to the land of promise. It was not the church in a body that moved from Watertown; nor did Mr. Phillips, their minister,

* *Trumbull, ut sup.*; *Winthrop*, 1, 161, 170, 171, 173.

† *Trumbull*, 1, 49-51.

join in this movement. Among those who went were only about six or seven members of the church, who took letters of dismission, dated March 29, 1636, with the avowed intent to "join anew in a church covenant" in Connecticut. This they ultimately did, at a place which they called Wethersfield, and elected Henry Smith, from England, for their minister, and Clement Chaplin for their ruling elder.*

On the 15th of October, 1635, about sixty men, women, and "little children" started from Dorchester, with their cattle, horses and swine, for Connecticut, by land, through the trackless wilderness. After a most tedious journey, over mountains and rivers, through forests and swamps, they arrived at length on the eastern bank of the Connecticut; but so late in the season, that, with the unavoidable delay in getting their stock over the river—part of which after all had to be left behind to winter in the woods—severely cold weather overtook them before they could make suitable preparations for housing themselves or their stock. To add to their distress, winter set in unusually early that year, so that by the middle of November the Connecticut river was frozen over, deep snows had fallen, and the weather had become very tempestuous. Many of their cattle perished;† and the unsheltered families

* *Felt*, 1, 253; *Hubbard*, 307; *Farmer's Reg.*, art. Chaplin; *Trumbull*, 1, 55.

† *Trumbull* (vol. 1, p. 53) says: "about £200 sterling were lost

suffered terribly. Most of their provisions and household stuff had been sent round in small vessels from Boston. Some of these were cast away and lost; others were long detained by the severity of the weather; and by the beginning of December, famine and death threatened the entire settlement. In their extremity, thirteen men started for Massachusetts through the snows of the wilderness for relief. One man perished by the way, and the others, after ten days' struggle with the hardships of the journey, were saved only by the timely assistance of friendly Indians. Seventy persons, men, women and children, undertook a journey of forty or more miles in a direct line, towards the mouth of the river, to meet their goods and provisions sent round by water. But failing to find them, they providentially discovered a vessel frozen in, twenty miles up the river; and getting on board, were at length released by a thaw and brought safely back to Massachusetts.

in cattle." But John Winthrop, Jr., in a letter to his father, dated "April 7, 1636," says: "I am informed by Mr. Ludloe, that Dorchester plantation hath lost 2,500*l.* in cattle this winter, besides other townes." — *Winthrop Papers*, p. 515, vol. vi, series iv, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. The same volume, pp. 579-81, contains a letter from Sir Richard Saltonstall, dated "The 27th february 1635," complaining loudly of the intrusion of the Dorchester people on his land near Windsor, Conn. — his by patent and prepossession, where his servants were engaged in preparing to build and enclose land for his cattle. The letter is directed to "Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of the Plantations at Connecticott Ryver, in New England."

The few that dared to remain at the new settlement endured the severest privations, being compelled to live on acorns and whatever they could pick up in the woods. Yet after all, these brave souls were not discouraged; and with returning spring renewed their undertaking, and finally succeeded in planting themselves firmly on the beautiful meadows of the long, fresh-water river of their affections, at what is now Windsor.*

About the beginning of June, 1636, the Newtown people, with their ministers, Messrs. Hooker and Stone, in number about one hundred, men, women and children, began their toilsome and dangerous journey towards Connecticut. They drove before them about one hundred and sixty head of cattle, depending on their cows for part of their subsistence on the way. Having to travel by the compass, their course was laid straight over mountains, through swamps and thickets, and across rivers which were passable only with difficulty and danger. The able-bodied men, besides their arms, carried on their backs their cooking utensils, with their packs; and for nearly two weeks struggled on through the perils and extreme fatigues of the journey. Not a few of these pilgrims were persons of quality, who, though entirely unused to such hardships, bore themselves heroically to the end. All at length arrived at their desired haven, and immediately

* *Winthrop*, 1, 173, 175; *Trumbull*, 1, 50-55.

commenced the settlement of Hartford, so called after the Rev. Mr. Stone's native place in England.*

Thus were originally settled by emigrants from Massachusetts, the towns of Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford — first called Watertown, Dorchester, and Newton, respectively. These three towns, together with Saybrook, contained at the close of the year 1636 not over one hundred and seventy families — eight hundred souls in all, and about two hundred and seventy men. Yet, though embarrassed by heavy losses of property, and by the serious difficulties attending their removal and first settlement in a new country filled with hostile Indians,† they thought themselves able to maintain six well-educated ministers: the Rev. Mr. Prudden at Wethersfield, the Rev. Messrs. Warham and Heuet at Windsor, the Rev. Messrs. Hooker and Stone at Hartford, and Mr. John Higginson at Saybrook Fort.‡

The next important settlement within the territorial bounds of what is now Connecticut was at New Haven. This was a famous colony in all respects, and demands particular notice.

* *Trumbull*, 1, chap. iv.; *Hubbard*, chap. 41; *Holmes*, 1, 288-9.

† Governor Winthrop says that there were three or four thousand warlike Indians in Connecticut at the time the first settlements there were made. — Vol. 1, 105.

‡ *Trumbull*, 1, *ut sup.* The Rev. Mr. Maverick, the associate-minister with Mr. Warham, at Dorchester, died just before the church moved to Windsor, February 3, 1636, aged about sixty years.

On the 26th of June, 1637, two ships arrived at Boston from London, filled with passengers, among whom were the Rev. John Davenport, a famous Puritan minister of London; the Rev. Samuel Eaton, "a very holy man, of great learning and judgment, and an incomparable preacher;" Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins, two London merchants, "men of fair estates," and "of great esteem for religion and wisdom in outward affairs;"* Thomas Gregson, "and many others of good characters and fortunes." Many of these immigrants were members of Mr. Davenport's congregation in London, who accompanied him to this new world out of esteem for him and love for his ministry. Great interest was excited in New England by the arrival of this choice body of colonists; and overtures were made from various quarters, to induce them to settle in Massachusetts or in Plymouth colony. Charlestown made large offers; Newbury proposed to give up the whole township to them; and the General Court offered them the choice of any unoccupied place in Massachusetts. They examined several places, but none satisfied them until they had visited Quinnipiack, now New Haven, about August 31, 1637. Here they immediately erected a hut, in which a few men contrived to pass the winter, in order probably to hold the territory. On the 30th of March, 1638, the bulk

* *Winthrop*, i, 227 —.

of the company left Boston by water; and after a tedious passage of about fourteen days, reached their destination, and there kept their first Sabbath in Connecticut, April 18, 1638.*

The motives which influenced the leaders of this large and distinguished body of immigrants to decline all overtures for settlement elsewhere, and to locate in a distant wilderness, were various. They probably thought that by being so far out of the way, in case of trouble with the home government, of which there was much fear at that time, they might escape all serious annoyance. They were afraid, too, of the Antinomian errors which then pervaded Massachusetts and its immediate neighborhood, and desired to get away as far as possible from the advocates of this heresy. And besides, they purposed to found a commonwealth, in some particulars unlike and more perfect than any then in existence; and it had been an observation of Mr. Davenport's, that whenever a reformation had been effected in the church, in any part of the world, it had rested where it had been left by the reformers. It could not be advanced another step. He therefore resolved that the civil and religious constitution of this colony should, from the start, be as near as possible

* *Winthrop*, 1, 227-29, 237; *Trumbull*, 1, 89-91; *Bacon's Historical Discourses*, 55-62; *Manual of the First Church in New Haven*, p. 3.

to Scripture precept and example; in which design the leading men of the colony heartily concurred.*

In accordance with their great purpose in emigrating, soon after their arrival at their new home—some time in April, 1638—the New Haven company set apart a day for fasting and prayer, having special reference to the adoption of a “Plantation Covenant.” This was a general compact, something like that which was signed by the Pilgrims in the Mayflower, at Cape Cod; and was intended to answer a temporary purpose in the management of Church and State affairs, until a formal and complete organization of both could be effected. At the close of the fast, this plantation covenant was brought forward and solemnly entered into by all the free planters of the colony. By this they bound themselves: “That, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so also in all public offices which concern civil order—as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature—they would all of them be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them.”†

This covenant was the only civil or religious constitution which the colony had for more than a year. But on the 4th of June, 1639, all the free

* *Trumbull*, 1, 90-91.

† *Trumbull*, 1, 91.

planters of Quinnipiack assembled in a large barn belonging to Mr. Newman, and in a very formal and solemn manner proceeded to lay the foundations of their civil and religious polity. Mr. Davenport first preached to them from Proverbs ix, 1: "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her *seven pillars*." From this text he argued that the church of God should be formed of seven principal men ("pillars"), to whom the other members should be added, or builded. At the close of this discourse, the following fundamental principles were adopted by the planters, in the form of resolutions: "1, That the Scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to God and men, as well in families and commonwealth, as in matters of the church. 2, That as in matters which concerned the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would all be governed by those rules which the Scriptures hold forth to them. 3, That all those who had desired to be received as free planters, had settled in the plantation with a purpose, resolution, and desire that they might be admitted into fellowship according to Christ. 4, That all the free planters held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity

and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity according to God."

After a full discussion of these fundamental principles—time being given for the purpose—the free planters unanimously resolved:

"5, That church members only should be free burgesses; and that they only should choose magistrates, among themselves, to have power of transacting all the public, civil affairs of the plantation; of making and repealing laws, dividing inheritances, deciding of differences that may arise, and doing all things and businesses of like nature."

And after this, with a view to the organization of a church, without which, according to their resolution, nothing could be done further, it was resolved:

"6, That twelve men should be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation work might be tried, and that it should be in the power of those twelve men to choose seven to begin the church."

And it was further resolved, that all the free planters of this colony should subscribe their names to this agreement and compact. Accordingly, sixty-three persons subscribed immediately, and soon afterwards about fifty others were added to the list. The twelve men chosen for trial, out of whom the "seven pillars" were to be selected, were Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Richard Malbon, Nathaniel Turner, Ezekiel Cheevers, Thomas

Fugill, John Punderson, William Andrews, and Jeremiah Dixon; and on the 21st or 22d of August, 1639, these twelve men proceeded to select from their own number the "seven pillars," on which to build the church. These were Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson, and Jeremiah Dixon. The formal organization of the church probably took place on the same day, and with the usual formalities of that period in New England; and Mr. Davenport was chosen pastor, and Robert Newman and Matthew Gilbert deacons.*

On the 25th of October these seven men (called "The Court") met, and after solemnly invoking the Divine aid, proceeded to form the "Body of Freemen," and to elect their civil officers. In the first place, all previous trusts and offices for managing the plantation were abrogated; then all who had been admitted to the church after the election of the seven pillars were admitted as members of the court. A solemn charge was given them; and Mr. Davenport expounded several passages of Scripture which described the character and pointed out the duties of civil magistrates. Then followed the election of the governor, magistrates and secretary of state, and a charge by Mr. Davenport to Governor Eaton,

* *Bacon's Hist. Disc.*, 24, 40; *History of the Churches of Connecticut*, 435; *Trumbull*, 1, 101-103; *Manual*, *ut sup.*

from the words of Moses (Deut. i: 16, 17): "And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's. And the cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it."

Thus formally and solemnly were laid the foundations of this "capital colony." It was not a Church-and-State organization; but a Church-State organization — a Christian commonwealth strictly; it being formally determined that "the word of God should be the only rule for ordering the affairs of government in that commonwealth."*

In connection with the organization of the New Haven church in June and August, as just related, steps were also taken towards organizing two other churches, on the same general plan: one for Wopowage (Milford), and the other for Menunkatuck (Guilford); land for settlers in the former place having been purchased, February 12, 1638-9;

* See *Trumbull*, vol. i, chap. vi, and Appendix No. 4, for the particulars of this interesting settlement; also, *Bacon's Historical Discourses*, 17-24. *Trumbull* says: "The New Haven adventurers were the most opulent company which came into New England, and they designed to plant a capital colony." — *Hist. Conn.*, i, 94.

and for the latter, in September, 1640.* The seven pillars selected for the Milford church were Peter Prudden, William Fowler, Edmund Tapp, Zechariah Whitman, John Artwood, Thomas Buckingham, and Thomas Welsh; and the principal planters of Guilford were Henry Whitfield, Robert Kitchel, William Leet, Samuel Delborough, William Chittenden, John Bishop, and John Calfinge. All the lands were purchased by these principal men, in trust for the planters of their respective towns; and they were constituted judges, to decide between man and man, to divide inheritances, punish offences, and do all other judicial work, in accordance with the word of God; until a body of written laws could be prepared. Every planter was assessed for his proportional share of the expenses of purchasing and laying out and settling the towns; and then they drew lots for their land, according to their original investments in the enterprise, in the same way as were the affairs of New Haven arranged and managed. Most of the first settlers of Milford were from Wethersfield, where Mr. Prudden had been preaching during the previous summer. At their first town meeting forty-four "free planters," or church members, appeared.†

* "The Church of Christ at Milford was first gathered at New Haven, upon August 22, 1639." — *Manual First Cong'l Chh., Milford*, p. 3.

† *Trumbull*, I, 103-4, 298; *Magnalia*, I, 357-8, 541-2; *Holmes's Ann.*, I, 252-3; *Allen's Biog. Dic.*, art. H. Whitfield; *Ecc. Hist.*

The original covenant of the Milford church, still retained by the church, is deeply significant of the humble and evangelical views of its founders. It is as follows:—"Since it hath pleased the Lord of His infinite goodness and free grace to call us (a company of poor miserable wretches) out of the world into fellowship with Himself in Jesus Christ, and to bestow Himself upon us by an everlasting covenant of His free grace, sealed in the blood of Jesus Christ, to be our God, and to make and avouch us to be His people, and hath undertaken to circumcise our hearts, that we may love the Lord our God, and fear him, and walk in His ways: we, therefore, do this day avouch the Lord to be our God, even Jehovah, the only true God, the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and we do this day enter into a holy covenant with the Lord, and one with another, through the grace and help of Christ strengthening us (without whom we can do nothing), to deny ourselves all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and all corruptions and pollutions wherein in any sort we have walked. And do give up ourselves wholly to the Lord Jesus Christ, to be taught and governed by Him, in all relations, conditions, and conversations in this

Conn., 398. *Hollister* says, "There were fifty-four heads of families and more than two hundred persons in all who first went to Milford." — *History Connecticut*, i, 101.

world; avouching Him to be our only prophet and teacher, our only Priest and Propitiation, our only King and Lawgiver. And we do further bind ourselves, in His strength, to walk before Him in all professed subjection to all His most holy ordinances, according to the rule of the gospel, and also to walk together with His church and the members thereof in all brotherly love and holy watchfulness, to the mutual building up one another in faith and love. All which the Lord help us to perform, through His rich grace in Christ, according to His covenant—Amen.” *

In the ancient record-book of this church is the following entry, in Mr. Prudden's own handwriting, which has a measure of historical interest and value: “I, Peter Prudden, was called to the office of a pastour in this church, and ordayned, by Zachariah Whitman, William Fowler, Edmund Tapp, designed by the church to that work; Zach. Whitman being ye Moderator for that meeting, in a day of solemn humiliation, upon ye 3d Wednesday in April, 1640, being, I remember, ye 18th day of the month.” †

This ordination took place at New Haven, and in the presence of the Rev. Messrs. Davenport and Eaton, the pastor and the teacher of the New Haven church. ‡

* *Manual of First Cong. Chh., Milford, Conn.*, pp. 3-4.

† *Felt, Ecc. Hist. N. E.*, 1, p. 5.

‡ *Mather* says: “There were then two famous churches gathered at New Haven: gathered in two days, one following

On the 1st of June, 1639, Mr. Whitfield, and twenty-four others, who ultimately settled at Guilford, entered into the following covenant with each other, at New Haven: * “We whose names are hereunder written, intending by God’s gracious permission to plant ourselves in New England, and if it may be, in the southerly part about Quinnipiack, do faithfully promise each to each, for ourselves and our families and those that belong to us, that we will, the Lord assisting us, sit down and join ourselves together in one plantation, and to be helpful each to the other in any common work, according to every man’s ability, and as need shall require; and we promise not to

upon the other, Mr. Davenport’s and Mr. Prudden’s; and this with one singular circumstance, that a mighty barn was the place wherein the duties of that solemnity were attended.” Though he does not tell us what year this took place, he says, “The next year Mr. Prudden, with his church, moved into Milford, where he lived many years, an example of piety and gravity and abiding zeal against the growing evils of the times.” He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and “his death was felt by the colony as the fall of a pillar, which made the whole fabric to shake.” — *Magnalia*, 1, 357; *Trumbull*, 1, 103–4, 298; *Ecc. Hist. Conn.*, 424; *Bacon’s Historical Discourses*, p. 55.

* *Felt’s Ecc. Hist. of N. E.*, 1, 407. I follow the date given by Felt, on manuscript authority, but have some doubt whether this document was signed earlier than June 4, when the New Haven people assembled in Mr. Newman’s barn to form their constitution; for Trumbull says that the planters of Guilford and Milford “were in the original agreement made in Mr. Newman’s barn on the 4th of June.” — Vol. 1, 103, 298. The Guilford covenant might have been written and dated on the 1st of June, and signed on the 4th.

desert or to leave each other, or the plantation, but with the consent of the rest, or the greater part of the company who have entered into this engagement. As for our gathering together in a church way, and the choice of officers and members to be joined together in that way, we do refer ourselves until such time as it shall please God to settle us in our plantation."

Though the preliminary steps were thus taken for the organization of a church in Guilford, the work of settlement was not completed there until some time in April, 1643; when Mr. Whitfield, John Higginson, Samuel Desborough, William Leet, Jacob Sheaf, John Mipham, and John Hoadley were elected "pillars," and on the 19th of June the church was gathered to these seven pillars, and Mr. Higginson was elected teacher, and Mr. Whitfield, who brought with him from England a considerable part of this church, was received as pastor, without the formality of an ordination. Both of these men had been preaching at Guilford two years or more: Mr. Whitfield from the first settlement of the town, and Mr. Higginson from 1641; for the court did not allow a town to be organized unless the people were prepared to maintain the preaching of the gospel among them; and every town having fifty families was required to maintain a good school.

Mr. Whitfield remained at Guilford until 1650, when he returned to England. He was a well-bred gentleman, son of a rich English lawyer, and

was himself a man of wealth and of great liberality. He lived eleven years with his people at Guilford, "mostly on his own estate, which was thereby exceedingly exhausted." He left behind him the savor of a good name, and the reputation of a good scholar, a great divine and an excellent preacher. When he left Guilford "the whole town accompanied him unto the waterside with a spring tide of tears." *

The townships of Fairfield and Stratford were purchased of the Indians, and settled by people from Windsor, Connecticut, and from Watertown and Concord, Massachusetts. The Rev. John Jones, who accompanied some of the early settlers from Concord about 1639, was the first minister of Fairfield, though a church was not organized until 1650. He was an Oxford scholar, and died in 1664, aged about seventy years. The church was organized at Stratford in 1640, and the Rev. Adam Blackman, of Christ's College, Oxford, a very

* *Magnalia*, 1, 541; *Trumbull*, 1, 103, 298. Mr. Whitfield was one of the Puritan divines who, with John Davenport, was made a nonconformist by the conference held with Mr. Cotton, previous to his embarkation for America. — *Magnalia*, 1, 541, comp'd with 294. *Holmes* (*Ann.*, vol. 1, 253, and note 2) has an interesting account of Whitfield and the settlement at Guilford, chiefly from manuscript sources.

A stone dwelling-house built for Mr. Whitfield in 1639 is still standing at Guilford, and is supposed to be one of the oldest houses in the United States — probably the very oldest. See a particular description of this house, with drawings, in *Palfrey's History of New England*, vol. 11, pp. 59-66, note 4.

much admired, devout and most excellent man, became the first pastor, and continued with the church to the time of his death in 1665.*

About midsummer, July, 1639, Mr. George Fenwick, "a worthy pious man of good family and estate," with his family, arrived at Saybrook, to take possession and commence the settlement of the adjoining country, belonging to Lords Say and Brook, comprising about sixty miles in length and breadth, between Connecticut river and the Narragansett country. With him were a number of distinguished planters, and the Rev. Thomas Peters, who became the minister of the settlement in 1641 or 1643; though a church may not have been formally organized until some years later, 1646.. Mr. Peters was brother to the celebrated Hugh Peters, who was called by Governor Winthrop, "my brother Peter." The settlement did not make much progress until about 1646, when Mr. Fitch, "a famous young gentleman," was ordained over the church, and a considerable number of families from Hartford and Windsor removed and made settlements in the town. This colony for nearly ten years was entirely independent of Connecticut, and recognized only the authority of the patentees and their governor, John Winthrop, Jr. But the country was

* *Trumbull*, 1, 104-6; *Winthrop*, 1, 169; *Holmes*, 1, 253-4, and note 3; *Allen*, art. Jones and Blackman; *Magnalia*, 1, 358; *Felt*, 1, 409.

subsequently purchased by the Connecticut authorities, and incorporated with their territory in 1644-45.*

During the year 1640 the Connecticut and New Haven people were busy in making purchases of new territory from the Indians and others, in preparation for further settlements. A clear title and an ample deed was obtained from the Indian chief Uncas, of all the lands claimed by him in Connecticut, except what were planted and reserved for himself and the Mohegans. The townships of Farmington and Southington were also purchased. Land was bought and a settlement begun at what was subsequently called Westfield. Lands were also purchased, and a few families planted themselves at Norwalk, the same year; and a large purchase was made by New Haven of the country on either side of Delaware Bay, and some fifty families were immediately planted there. "This last purchase," we are told, "was made with a view to trade, and for the settlement of churches in gospel order and purity."

Connecticut and New Haven remained independent colonies, managing their own affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, as they saw fit—though

**Trumbull*, 1, 106-7; *Allen's Biog. Dic.*; *Winthrop*, 1, 306, 390, 392; 11, 266, 352, 381; *Hutchinson's Mass. Bay*, 1, 100—, note. The account of Peters and the first organization of a church at Saybrook is not very intelligible, as any one will see, if he examines the authorities above quoted.

the most friendly relations existed between them—until 1665, when they were united under a new charter from Charles II. It was, however, rather an enforced union; some of the ministers of New Haven were so averse to it that they left the colony rather than submit to it. Mr. Pierson, of Branford, and almost his whole church and congregation, emigrated in a body to Newark, New Jersey, leaving Branford without a church, and nearly uninhabited for more than twenty years.*

At the time of the union, the two colonies together had fifteen Congregational churches, and as many ordained ministers, besides several settlements in which, though there were no churches, there was occasional or constant preaching. The number of families in the two colonies was about seventeen hundred, and the whole population between eight and nine thousand souls; to whom about twenty educated ministers were constantly devoted. That is, there was one minister, on an average, to every eighty-five families, or to every four hundred and thirty souls. Some of the first churches had not more than eight or ten male members; and with the exception of Hartford, Windsor, New Haven, and Guilford, there were few or none of the churches which had more than seventeen male members at the time of their formation; and commonly there were not more

* *Trumbull*, 1, 289-90.

than thirty or forty families when a pastor was called and settled. And yet these churches did not deem it an insupportable burden to sustain, each of them, one minister, and some of them two.

The first ministers and churches of Connecticut and New Haven colonies, without a known exception, were Calvinistic in their doctrinal belief,* and Congregationalists in their views of church polity. They all held that Christ was supreme ruler and governor of the churches; and that their worship and discipline, as well as their faith and morals, were to be strictly conformed to His will, revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. They believed that, according to this revelation, a church completely organized should have a pastor and a teacher, one or more ruling elders, and two or more deacons; and that it was entirely irregular for a minister to perform the rites of baptism or to administer the Lord's supper to any but his own people.†

The churches had confessions of faith, as well as solemn covenants, by means of which they were bound together as Christian bodies; the "mutual covenanting and confederation of the

* *Davenport's Profession*, and the catechism prepared by him and his associate in the ministry, Rev. William Hooke, furnish a fair example of the Calvinism of the first ministers and churches of Connecticut.

† *Hooker's Survey*, Part II, chap. 1, partic. at pp. 4, 61, and 73; *Davenport's Profession*, arts. 1, 2, 12, 15, 19; *Davenport's Catechism*, p. 53.

saints in the fellowship of the faith, according to the order of the gospel," being in their judgment that which gave "constitution and being to a visible church." * Ordinarily a confession of faith was first drawn up and assented to by persons proposing to become united in church fellowship. Then they entered into solemn covenant with God and with each other, to walk together according to the rules of his most holy word, and in the daily and faithful performance of all Christian duties. And this covenant they not only publicly assented to, but personally signed, each for himself, having first, each to the other, given a reason of the hope that was in him. Thus, when the church at New Haven was to be formed, Mr. Davenport, one of the "seven pillars," and afterwards the renowned pastor of the church, drew up an elaborate confession of his faith in twenty articles, which he presented as his own creed, and on the basis of which the church was doubtless organized;† for, though it was customary for the very earliest churches of New England to receive

* *A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline.* By Thomas Hooker, late pastor of the church at Hartford, upon Connecticut, N. E. London : MDCXLVIII, Part 1, chap. iv, p. 46 ; *Davenport's Profession*, arts. 14 and 15 ; *Trumbull says* of the churches of New Haven, Milford and Guilford (1639-1643) : "A confession of faith was drawn up, to which they all assented, as preparatory to their covenanting together in church estate. . . . The confessions of faith contained a summary of Christian doctrine, and were strictly Calvinistic." — *Hist. Conn.*, 1, 297.

† This valuable document was discovered a few years since, in

private, written confessions from distinguished persons about to unite with them — which confessions of faith were by no means the very same as those adopted by the churches — yet they must have been generally consonant with them, or these persons would never have been received by the churches on these confessions.* These churches, without exception, maintained that they had an unquestionable right to choose, call, and ordain their own pastors and teachers, as well as ruling elders and deacons; and to exercise discipline within themselves, without the advice, consent, or assistance of any body outside of their own organizations; though they cheerfully acknowledged the value of advisory councils, which, though of no judicial authority, were yet to be treated with great respect.† Acting on these principles, the early churches did not hesitate to ordain their own pastors, not only without minis-

England; and has been printed, with a historical preface, by Dr. Bacon, the pastor of the same church in 1853; together with a catechism prepared by Mr. Davenport and his colleague, Mr. Hooker, at a subsequent, but early period. The confession is entitled "*The Profession of the Faith of that Reverend and Worthy Divine, Mr. J. D.*, sometime preacher of Steven's Coleman street, London. Made publicly before the Congregation at his admission into one of the churches of God in New England," etc. "London: Printed in 1642. New Haven, Ct.: Reprinted in 1853."

* *Magnalia*, II, 150.

† *Trumbull*, I, 296-7; *Hooker's Survey*, Part II, pp. 76-78; Appendix, Part IV, pp. 47-52, 54, 80, 89; Part III, 2, 46; *Davenport's Profession*, articles 17-19

terial aid, but even when ministers were present to perform other parts of the ordination service; for they held that ordination was simply the public recognition, or setting apart to his particular office, of one who had previously been chosen and called, and, by the acceptance of the call, had become the officer of a particular church.*

In all these respects and particulars, the Connecticut and New Haven churches and ministers agreed quite exactly with those of the Plymouth and the Massachusetts colonies.

* *Trumbull*, 1, chap. xiii, gives a very lucid summary of the views and practices of the Connecticut and the New Haven churches. See also *Hooker's Survey*, part II, pp. 66-68, 72-78; and chap. iii, throughout, pp. 78-90; *Davenport and Hooker's Catechism*, bound up with the "Catalogue of the Persons admitted to the First Church in New Haven," pp. 47-50, 52-54, 59, 61.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW HAMPSHIRE EARLY HISTORY—MASON AND GORGES—SETTLEMENTS AT DOVER AND PORTSMOUTH—THE PURITANS AT DOVER—CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS AT HAMPTON, EXETER, PORTSMOUTH AND DUNSTABLE—1623-1685.

THE early history of New Hampshire is quite unlike that of the other New England colonies. The Piscataqua river, which forms the present northeastern boundary of the State, was visited by John Smith, the famous navigator, as early as 1614. His flattering account of the country and the large profits of his voyage excited much interest in England, and probably hastened the organization of the Plymouth Council, whose patent or charter was the foundation of all subsequent grants in New England, and whose corporate name was: "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting and governing of New England, in America." *

Two members of this company, Sir Fernando

* The first patent for this country was granted by James I, in 1606, and included all the Atlantic coast, from latitude 48 degrees to latitude 34 degrees, or from the Chesapeake bay to the Penobscot river. The Plymouth patent, granted in 1620, made that company supreme governors and owners of all the territory between the 40th and the 48th degrees of latitude; or, from about the southern line of Pennsylvania to the northern boundary of Maine.—*Hubbard*, 80, 217-19; *Trumbull*, 1, 4; *Belknap*, 1, 2-3

Gorges and Captain John Mason, men of energy, enterprise, and large resources, in 1621 and 1622 obtained patents for extensive tracts of land, reaching from Salem river to the Merrimac, which territory they called **MARIANA**; and also from the Merrimac to the Sagadahoc, or Kennebec, and up those rivers to their sources, and back to the lakes, including a part of Massachusetts, all of New Hampshire and a portion of Maine — which they called **LACONIA**. Associating with them a number of English merchants, under the name of “The Company of Laconia,” they sent out in 1623 two colonies, furnished with necessary supplies and with men skilled in the fisheries, in salt-making, and in the lumber and fur trades, to commence settlements on the Piscataqua. One of these companies, led by David Thompson, pitched upon a peninsula of about five hundred acres on the west bank of the Piscataqua, near its mouth, which they called Little Harbor, now Portsmouth; and there immediately commenced the erection of houses and of salt-works, and on an eminence which commanded the whole settlement, built a small fort. The other party, led by Edward and William Hilton, fishmongers of London, selected a tract of land eight miles up the river — first called Dover, then Northam, and then Dover again — and there began to build on a neck of land known as Hilton’s Point.*

* *Belknap*, 1, 4-5, 13, and note; *Hubbard*, 214; *Prince*, 215.

These settlements, though very judiciously made, were by no means successful for several years. About 1626, Thompson, the leader of the settlement at Little Harbor, removed to an island in Boston harbor, which still bears his name.

In 1629, Mason procured another patent, which included all the territory from the middle of the Piscataqua, up to the farthest head thereof; and from thence northwestward, "until sixty miles from the mouth of the harbor were finished; also, through the Merrimac river, to the farthest head thereof; and so forward up into the land westward, until sixty miles were finished; and from thence to cross over land to the end of the sixty miles accounted from Piscataqua river; together with all islands within five leagues of the coast." This extensive tract he called New Hampshire.*

In 1630-31, Edward Hilton and his associates of the Northam settlement procured a grant of all that tract of country covered now by the towns of Dover, Durham, and Stratham, and part of Newington and Greenland. In November, 1631, Gorges, Mason and their associates procured an additional grant of all the land now included within the limits of Portsmouth, Newcastle, Rye, and a part of Newington and Greenland, and entered with vigor into the work of enlarging and improving their settlements.† But

* *Belknap's History of New Hampshire*, edition of 1881.

† *Belknap*, 1, 9, 10.

though the company expended large sums of money on this plantation—three thousand pounds sterling had been spent at the time of this second grant; and though they sent over unnumbered laborers and skilled workmen and colonists, and secured able and energetic agents and stewards, no great prosperity attended their enterprises. No corresponding returns were made by the lumber or fur trade or by the fisheries, which were the great ends for which the settlements were made; and by 1634, most of the proprietors had become discouraged and were ready to sell their interests to Mason and Gorges, whose hopefulness was as remarkable as their energy and enterprise, and to whom every obstacle was a new stimulant to exertion.* To simplify the work, they then made a division of the lands held in common by them; Mason taking all included within the bounds of New Hampshire, and Gorges what was in Maine.

On the 22d of April, 1635, Mason, to make his claim more sure, obtained another patent from the Plymouth Council, covering both his previous grants and all the country between Salem river and the Piscataqua, and sixty miles northward, together with the southern half of the Isles of Shoals. He then went to work with fresh zeal to colonize this extensive tract, providing most liberally men and provisions, clothing, arms and

* *Belknap*, 1, 12-13; *Adams' Ann.*, 1634.

ammunition, tools of all kinds, naval stores, fishing gear, neat cattle — in fact everything needful for the comfort and convenience of his colony. But just as success began to loom up before this enterprising man, he was smitten down by death, November 26, 1635, and all his schemes were at once blasted. His widow could not manage her husband's great undertaking; her agents gradually ceased to make remittances, and finally divided her goods and cattle among themselves, regardless of her interests; while some of the planters seized on the houses, and others left the country for more hopeful fields. So this, like every other purely trading and commercial plantation along the entire coast of America, proved an expensive and ruinous failure.*

But before this utter collapse of Mason's enterprise, a new element had appeared among the New Hampshire settlers. About 1633 a considerable number of families from the west of England, some of whom were of "good estates and of some account for religion," were induced to emigrate to New Hampshire. They brought with them an able and worthy Puritan minister, the Rev. William Leverich, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, selected Dover for their residence, erected dwelling-houses for themselves, and a meeting-house for public worship, all on the "Neck," and began their plantation most hopefully. But after all,

* *Adams' Annals of Portsmouth*, 22-25.

these people seem to have lacked the devout and enduring elements of genuine Puritans. They gradually fell off from the support of their excellent minister, and after about two years obliged him to leave the place for lack of support. This was a sad thing for Dover, in that, especially, it opened the way for one George Burdett, a clergyman by profession, and a man of ability and address, but a mere adventurer at heart. He came to the settlement with a good reputation, ingratiated himself with the people and became their minister. He then began to intrigue against Wiggin, the governor of the plantation, and finally succeeded in supplanting him. At the same time he was in correspondence with Archbishop Laud, doing what he could to prejudice the interests of the Massachusetts Colony, by representing the people as disloyal and hypocritical, and really aiming at independence in civil as well as ecclesiastical matters. He was thus a mischief-maker, and caused much disquietude and trouble. But after a while he was detected in some immoralities and was compelled to leave the plantation. He then made his way to Agamenticus, now York, Maine, and there continued for a time his intrigues and irregularities, until the arrival of Governor Thomas Gorges, in 1640, who laid a fine upon him and seized his cattle for non-payment. This drove the worthless adventurer out of the country, full of wrath and malice towards New England. But before he could do

any mischief in England he fell into the hands of the parliament, which was then rising into power, was imprisoned, and thus finished his ambitious and irregular career.

Burdett was succeeded in 1638, at Dover, by Hanserd Knollys, who gathered "some of the best minded people there into a church body," in December, 1638, and thus instituted really the first church in the town of Dover, and the second in New Hampshire. Mr. Knollys's ministry however, was short and troublous. Indeed, all the settlements in New Hampshire were in a state of commotion and contention for many years, such as no good man would willingly live in. In 1641 Mr. Knollys returned to England, organized a Baptist church in London, and after a long life of persecution and suffering for conscience' sake, died, full of years and highly respected by those who sympathized in his views, September 19, 1691, aged ninety-three years. His course in America, however, judging from the statements of our earliest historians, was far from unexceptionable. But Neale calls him "good old Hansard Knowles," and says that he was "universally esteemed and beloved by all his brethren" in England.*

Thomas Larkam, a graduate of Jesus College,

* *Hubbard*, chap. 22, is quite full and intelligible on the first attempt to settle New Hampshire. See also *Belknap*, I, chap. ii; *History of N. H. Churches*, art. Dover; *Winthrop*, I, 115, 276, 281, 291, 298, 306, 326; *Neale's Hist. New Eng.*, I, 216-17, and *Hist. of Puritans*, 111, Supplement, pp. 51-53; *Cong. Quarterly*, vol. 13, pp. 38-53.

Cambridge, England, and a Puritan of ability and learning, "of good parts and wealthy," but rather inclined to Episcopacy, succeeded Knollys as minister of Dover, the people being "soon taken with him." He proved, however, as unfit for the office as Burdett himself, and ended his ministry in 1642. Returning to England, he became the minister of Tavistock, proved himself a devout and useful man, suffered ejectment in the days of Charles II, and died in concealment in 1669.* His successor in Dover, in 1642, was the Rev. Daniel Maud, a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, a man of learning, of "serious spirit, and of a quiet and peaceable disposition." Under him the church at Dover at last had rest, and was built up and prospered. He died in 1655, and was succeeded the same year by the excellent John Reyner, who had been pastor of the church of Plymouth from 1636 to 1654. He was succeeded by his son, the Rev. John Reyner, Jr., in 1671.†

While the events above related were transpiring, the town and church of Hampton were founded. Massachusetts authorities had taken possession of this territory as early as 1636, and had erected a house at the expense of the colony; but it was not till September, 1638, that a settlement was begun and a church organized there;

* *Winthrop*, 11, 27, 63, 92; *New Hampshire Churches*, 319.

† *N. H. Chhs.*, art. Dover, by Rev. A. H. Quint, D.D.

thus antedating the church at Dover by some two or three months; though a meeting-house had been erected at Dover, and religious institutions had been maintained there for several years previous to this date. The Rev. Stephen Batchelor, and the small church which he had organized somewhat irregularly in Lynn, and of which some account has already been given in these pages, were the first settlers, and constituted the first church at Hampton.

In 1639 the Rev. Timothy Dalton was called to be the teacher of this church, with Mr. Batchelor as pastor. But they did not live harmoniously together, and the pastor left the church and town probably in 1641.*

This is supposed to have been the only instance in which a New Hampshire church had a pastor and teacher at the same time; and the difficulties which attended the arrangement in this instance may have discouraged a further trial of it in that

* Governor Winthrop, under date of "5, 15—" July 15, 1644, says: "The contentions at Hampton were grown to a great hight, the whole town was divided into two factions, one with Mr. Batchelor, their late pastor, and the other with Mr. Dalton, their teacher, both men very passionate and wanting discretion and moderation. Their differences were not in matters of opinion, but of practice. Mr. Dalton's party being most of the church, and so freemen, had great advantage of the other, though a considerable party, and some of them of the church also; whereby they carried all affairs both in church and town according to their own minds, and not with that respect to their brethren and neighbors which had been fit."—*Hist. New Eng.*, 1, 177.

colony. The historian of the church in Hampton tells us, that Messrs. Batchelor and Dalton, while associated together, alternated in their work; the pastor preaching in the forenoon, and the teacher in the afternoon, the teacher pronouncing the benediction when the pastor preached, and the pastor when the teacher preached. They alternated in like manner in the devotional services, the teacher offering one prayer, and the pastor the other; and in the administration of the Lord's Supper, one offering prayer and distributing the bread, and the other doing the same with the wine, the order being reversed at every communion. Mr. Dalton remained with the Hampton church to the time of his death, December 28, 1661, aged about eighty-four years.

He seems to have been a good and useful man, who has left behind him the reputation of "a faithful and painful laborer in God's vineyard," and that of "a plain, serious and affectionate preacher." It was through a purchase of land from him, for this purpose, that the church at Hampton obtained the ministerial fund, which long afforded aid in the support of the ministers of that town and the other towns which now occupy the old territorial site of Hampton, viz.: North Hampton, Hampton Falls, Kensington, and Seabrook. The Indian name of this territory was Winnicomet, and the principal inducement for first occupying it was the extensive salt-marsh which here abounds, and which was in the eyes of

the first settlers of New England extremely valuable for hay. The whole number of the first settlers was fifty-six, chiefly from Norfolk, England. The town was laid out in one hundred and forty-seven shares, after the Massachusetts plan.*

The town of Exeter (Squamscot Falls) was also settled in 1638, by a number of Massachusetts people who sympathized with the Rev. John Wheelwright, the brother-in-law of the famous Anne Hutchinson, and a church of nine members was then and there organized. Mr. Wheelwright had been banished from Massachusetts for his complicity with Mrs. Hutchinson, and for certain offences connected with the expression of his Antinomian views. He had purchased a large tract of land at Squamscot Falls, and had not only organized a church, of which he became pastor, but by general agreement had formed also

* *New Hampshire Churches*, pp. 63-75; also, *Belknap*, 1, 20-22. Johnson says: "The great store of salt marsh did intice this people to sit down their habitation there, for as yet cowes and cattell of that kind were not come to that great down fall in their price, of which they have about four hundred and fifty head. And for the forme of this Towne, it is like a Flower-de-luce, two streets of houses wheeling off from the main body thereof. The land is fertile, but filled with swamps, and some store of rocks. The people are about sixty families." — *Wonderworking Providence*, 134. In speaking of the settlement at Haverhill, Johnson says: "This town is of a large extent, supposed to be ten miles in length, there being an overwhelming desire in most men after meadow land, which hath caused many towns to grasp more into their hands than they could afterwards possibly hold. . . ." — *Ib.*, 197.

a separate and independent body politic. This was done "in the name of Christ and in the sight of God, such as should be to their best discerning agreeable to the will of God." Thirty-five persons constituted this little republic. They chose rulers to continue in office one year, and then ordained laws which were submitted to these rulers and assented to by them—thus formally setting up an independent government. This order of things continued but three years, however, when the authority of Massachusetts over this and the neighboring towns of Dover and Portsmouth was recognized, and the territory became an integral part of the Bay Colony.* Mr. Wheelwright,

* The civil compact into which Mr. Wheelwright and his friends entered at Exeter was thus expressed: "Whereas it hath pleased the Lord to move the heart of our dread sovereign, Charles [I] to grant license and liberty to sundry of his subjects to plant themselves in the Western part of America; we his loyal subjects, members of the church of Exeter, situate and lying upon the river Piscataqua, with other inhabitants there, considering with ourselves the holy will of God and our own necessity, that we should not live without wholesome laws and civil government amongst us, of which we are altogether destitute, do in the name of Christ and in the sight of God, combine ourselves together, to erect and set up amongst us, such government as shall be, to our best discerning, agreeable to the will of God; professing ourselves subjects to our sovereign lord, King Charles, according to the liberty of the English colony of the Massachusetts, and binding ourselves solemnly, by the grace and help of Christ, and in His name and fear, to submit ourselves to all such Christian laws, as are established in the realm of England, to our best knowledge, and to all other such laws which shall upon good grounds be made and enacted among us, according to God; that we may

being still under sentence of banishment, removed with his friends to Wells, in Maine, and the church at Exeter was consequently broken up.

An attempt, in 1641, to organize a new church under the ministry of Mr. Batchelor, who had been invited to Exeter by a part of the people, was prevented by the Massachusetts authorities, on account of the division which prevailed among the people. And, though in 1650 they received an excellent minister, the Rev. Samuel Dudley, son of Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, who remained with them to the time of his death, February 10, 1683, yet, strange to say, there was no organized church in the town, so far as is known, during his entire residence there of thirty-three years, nor for nearly fifteen years afterwards. At length, however, "after conference and mutual satisfaction," a confession of faith and a covenant were drawn up, assented to and signed by twenty-eight persons, on the 18th of September, 1698, which may be considered as the date of the organization of the second church in Exeter. On the following Wednesday, the 21st, the Rev. John Clark was ordained as their pastor.*

live quietly and peaceably together, in all godliness and honesty. October 4, 1639." Subscribed by John Wheelwright, William Wentworth, George Walton, with thirty-two more.

Winthrop, 1, 290; 11, 27-9, 38; *Hubbard*, 224-233; *Belknap*, 1, 19-20, 28-30; *N. H. Chhs.*, 47. *Winthrop's* first volume abounds in references to Mr. Wheelwright. See particularly pp. 214-17, 221-241, 244-47; *Holmes, Annals*, 1, 242, 248.

* *Winthrop*, 11, 177; *N. H. Chhs.*, 47-48. The church record

Though Portsmouth — first called Little Harbor and then Strawberry Bank — was settled by Gorges and Mason as early as 1623, no Congregational church was organized there for nearly half a century afterwards. Neither was there any provision for public worship until about 1640, except that a small chapel and a parsonage were erected, and some fifty acres of land were deeded about that time by some of the principal planters for a glebe. In 1640 the Rev. Richard Gibson, an Episcopal minister who had been sent over some three years previously by Mr. Trelawny, as chaplain to his fishing colony at Richmond's Island, was invited to become the minister of Portsmouth, and immediately removed to the settlement. But Gibson, though a scholar and a gentleman, was a pretty high churchman — "wholly addicted to the hierarchy and discipline of England," as Winthrop says — and soon got into trouble with the Massachusetts authorities, left Portsmouth for the Isles of Shoals in 1642, and after a little time, left the country entirely.*

of its organization reads thus: "The order of proceeding in gathering a particular church in Exeter. After conferring together and being mutually satisfied in each other, we drew up a confession of faith, and the terms of the covenant, which we all signed, the Sabbath before the ordination."

This account shows that the primitive manner of organizing New England churches still continued, after two generations had passed away. — See *N. H. Chhs.*, *ut sup.*

* *Winthrop*, 11, 66; *Felt*, 1, 202, 446, 450, 502; *Annals Portsmouth*, pp. 26-28. *Winthrop* says that Gibson sent an open letter

In 1641 the New Hampshire settlements along the Piscataqua and its branches put themselves under the protection of Massachusetts. And in December, 1642, the Portsmouth people invited Mr. James Parker, a Congregational minister of Weymouth, "a godly man and a scholar," to be their minister. This call was accepted, and Mr. Parker spent the winter in Portsmouth, but did not settle there. In 1646 he was settled at Barbadoes. Some time previous to 1655, a Mr. Browne was the officiating minister of the town. Who he was, or how long he continued in Portsmouth, does not appear. In the autumn of 1656, the town voted an invitation to Mr. Samuel Dudley to become their minister, and offered him a salary of eighty pounds sterling a year. But he preferred Exeter. In 1657 the town voted to build a new meeting-house and to call Mr. "Woster"—probably the Rev. William Worcester—to settle with them in the ministry, if they could agree with him, after he had visited them and preached to them. On the 7th of September one of the selectmen of the town was sent to him with these proposals. But it is uncertain whether

to Larkam, at Dover, "wherein he did scandalize our government, oppose our title to those parts, and provoke the people by way of arguments, to revolt from us." This letter fell into the hands of the Massachusetts authorities, who summoned Gibson before the General Court, and, on his submission and acknowledgment, let him off without fine or punishment, "in regard, he was a stranger, and was to depart the country within a few days." This was said in May or June, 1642.

he visited Portsmouth and preached there. He certainly did not become the minister of the town, and could not have staid long in the place, even if he went at all; for early in 1658 Mr. Joshua Moody was preaching there, supported by the voluntary subscriptions of eighty-six persons. After about two years, the people were so well pleased with him that on the 5th of March, 1659-60, the town voted in a formal manner to settle Mr. Moody with them in the ministry; and from that date he became the minister of Portsmouth, though not the pastor of any church, for none was organized there for twelve years after he began his labors. And yet it is quite apparent that the organization of a Congregational church in that settlement was an object of great interest with the minister, and that to accomplish it he labored long and most earnestly. Fortunately we have a contemporaneous account, from Mr. Moody himself, of the successive steps towards this church organization.* This account demonstrates the importance attached to the movement and the extreme care that it was thought to require. It also shows that forty years had made little difference in this respect, in the views and practice of the good people of New England.

The preparatory work at Portsmouth began in the winter of 1670, during which season private meetings were held by the minister and some of

* This may be seen in *Adams' Annals of Portsmouth*, anno 1671.

the more serious people of the town, to consider the expediency of organizing a church. Finding that this was desired, not only by residents who were members of churches in other towns, but by some who had never made any public profession of their faith, it was finally decided to set apart a day for fasting and prayer, to seek the Lord, that he would discover to them "a right way." It was then agreed that those who were members of other churches should acquaint their respective churches with the motion on foot, and desire their advice, approbation, countenance and prayers; which was accordingly done. The next step was to appoint a meeting in a private house, where all who were ready to join in this good work should assemble "to read each to other, a reason of the hope that was in them, by giving account of their knowledge and experience; that so they might be satisfied one in another, and be capable of joining together as members of the same body. . . . Several days were spent in this exercise, to the mutual refreshing and endearing of the speaker, and to the awakening and warning of others of the neighbors, that were, as they had liberty to be, present at these exercises." After all this, there was still another meeting, to ascertain whether all were so satisfied with the relations of experience and the lives of the several candidates that they could "with freedom of spirit join in a body together and unite in the same society, according to the rules of Christ." At this meeting, any

scruples which any one might have in reference to another were "lovingly and plainly propounded, and satisfaction was ingenuously tendered on the one party and accepted by the other." The question as to the order and discipline of the new church was also considered; and an unanimous consent given to the positions and doctrines advanced by their minister in a series of discourses, which had been preached during the previous winter and spring, from Ezekiel xliii: 10-12, "about the laws, ordinances and forms of the house, with the goings out thereof and the comings in thereof." These matters being all adjusted, a committee was next appointed to acquaint the civil authorities with their purpose, as the law required, and obtain permission of the General Court to go forward. This having been done, letters missives were then sent to the church at Cambridge, of which Mr. Moody was a member, to those at Ipswich, Rowley, and Hampton, and probably to some others,* to request that their elders and messengers might be sent to aid in the organization of the church and the ordination of its officers. In response to this invitation, the churches invited were represented at Portsmouth on the 25th of June, 1671. Deputy Governor Leverett and several magistrates of Massachusetts honored the organization services

* The Rev. John Wheelwright, then at Salisbury, seems to have been present at the organization of this church, and to have taken part in the services.

with their presence and countenance. At the time appointed, the forenoon, as usual on such occasions, was occupied with a sermon, Mr. Moody himself preaching from "Ezekiel xlviii ult." — the last six verses, it is presumed. In the afternoon "the pastor, with all those who were to be beginners of the new church, made their relations" of religious experience; and such as were members of other churches presented their letters of dismission and recommendation from their respective churches, and also made their personal relations — for "all made their relations, whether members or non-members — and they were approved by the messengers of the churches, and embodied into a church by an explicit covenant." * Then the pastor was ordained, after the unanimous vote of the church, and liberty given to all the congregation to object, if they had aught to say. "He was ordained by several of the elders, at the desire of the church; Mr. Cabot [Rev. Thomas Cobbet, of Ipswich, it is presumed] giving him his charge, and Mr. Wheelwright [then pastor of the church at Salisbury] the right hand of fellowship. Then the pastor ordained Samuel Haines, deacon, with imposition of hand and prayer. A psalm was sung, and the congregation dismissed by the pastor, with a prayer and blessing."

* The nucleus of this church ("the pillars") were Joshua Moody, John Cutt, Richard Cutt, Elias Stileman, Richard Martyn, Samuel Haynes, James Pendleton, John Fletcher, and John Tucker.

Mr. Moody continued his faithful and useful pastorate at Portsmouth, without interruption, until 1684, when he was thrown into jail by the arbitrary authority of Governor Cranfield, and subsequently banished from the Province. The pastor had offended Cranfield by his plain preaching and by the strictness of his church discipline; and especially, by disregarding the governor's order to admit to the Lord's Supper all of suitable age and not vicious, and their children to baptism; and that these rites should be administered according to the liturgy of the Church of England whenever any person desired this. Mr. Moody of necessity had to disregard such an order, and to refuse the particular request of Cranfield that the sacrament should be administered to him and two of his friends in this way, at a time designated. The minister was compelled to disobey such arbitrary orders, or deny his own principles. This was Mr. Moody's whole offence, for which he was imprisoned thirteen weeks, from which duress he obtained release only on the condition that he should preach no more in the Province. He thereupon came at once to Boston, officiated in the First Church, and remained in this neighborhood until 1692 or 1693; visiting his old parishioners in Portsmouth from time to time and attending their private meetings. After this, on a change of rulers, he returned again to Portsmouth and there remained until his death, July 4, 1697, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. The estimation

in which Mr. Moody was held as a scholar and divine is shown by the invitation extended to him in 1684, to succeed President Rogers as the head of Harvard College.*

Besides Hampton, Dover, Exeter, and Portsmouth, there were no Congregational churches organized in New Hampshire during the seventeenth century, except the one in Dunstable (now Nashua) when that town was supposed to be within the limits of Massachusetts. Here, on the 16th of December, 1685, a church was gathered, and the Rev. Thomas Weld, grandson of the celebrated minister of the same name of Roxbury, Massachusetts, was ordained. The church at first consisted of seven members, the smallest number that our fathers thought proper ever to embody into a church. To these seven pillars others were doubtless added subsequently; for the settlement contained quite a number of influential and substantial persons.†

There were some attempts at settlements in other places; and there was more or less transient and even somewhat continuous preaching in the Province, particularly at the Shoals; but no

* See *Belknap's* account of Mr. Moody, Vol. 1, 104-8, 113; *Adams' Ann.*, pp. 78-80, 91, 95, 99, 108-10. A somewhat full and very comprehensive and careful sketch of Joshua Moody, by John Farmer, may be found in *Amer. Quar. Reg.*, ix, 231-34. See *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*.

† *Belknap*, 1, 116, note 1. The original members were Thomas Weld, Jonathan Tyng, John Blanchard, Cornelius Waldo, Samuel Warner, Obadiah Perry, and Samuel French.

churches other than have been named were constituted in New Hampshire between 1623 and 1700.*

* The Newcastle church is not counted as distinct from the Portsmouth; for "Great Island," as it was called, continued to be a part of the township of Portsmouth until 1693, when it was set off and called New-Castle; and I find no evidence that there was any church organization for the island distinct from Portsmouth; for though they had a meeting-house at an earlier date, the first minister settled there was the Rev. John Emerson, in 1703.—*Adams*, 1693; *New Hamp. Chhs.*, 95—.

CHAPTER VII.

MAINE — SAGADAHOC, 1607 — GORGES, MASON, LEVETT — VINES
— AGAMENTICUS — PEJEPSCOTT — PEMAQUID, ETC. — EARLIEST
PREACHERS — THE CONGREGATIONALISTS THERE — PLYMOUTH
PATENT — WALDO PATENT — MINISTERS FROM MASSACHUSETTS
— CHURCHES IN WELLS, SACO, SCARBOROUGH, ETC.

THE early history of Maine is a confused story. Yet it is so related to subsequent times that something must be said of it, or the history of Congregationalism in that section of New England would not be fairly given.

From the earliest English explorations of the coast of Maine (Mavoshen) by Martin Pring, or Prinne, and Weymouth, in 1603-1606, to 1623, the country attracted much attention, and called forth repeated attempts at colonization. But, though much money was spent and many colonists were sent thither, with ample equipments and able leaders, not one attempt succeeded until after the settlement of Plymouth in 1620; nor indeed was there any noteworthy success for many years after that date.*

The first attempt of the English to colonize Maine was by the Sagadahoc Company, which

* *Prince's Chronology*, 102-109, 113, 116; *Hubbard's N. E. Hist.*, chap. 8; *Williamson's History of Maine*, I, chaps. 1-3; *Folsom's History of Saco and Biddeford*, chaps. 1-4.

left England in the spring of 1607, thirteen years before the Pilgrims sailed for the new world. Its chief patron was Lord, or Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England. Captain George Popham, a brother of the judge, and Raleigh Gilbert, a nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, were the approved leaders, and accompanied the colonists, one hundred and twenty persons all told, furnished with ample provisions and equipments.* The two vessels—the “Mary and John” and the “Gift of God”—which brought this colony, after touching at Monhegan and at St. George’s Island, where the company landed and held public worship on the Sabbath, August 9, and where was preached the first sermon in English ever heard on these northern shores, arrived at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, or Kennebec river, on the 16th of August, 1607. On the 20th, after some survey of other sites, the company was landed at the mouth or entry of the river, on the west side, “being almost an island of good bigness,” in a province called by the Indians Sabino, but at a place now known as Hunnewell’s Point.† They were

* Authorities vary as to the numerical force of this colony, but *Strachey*, its original historian, says there were “One hundred and twenty planters” in the Company. — *Me. Hist. Coll.*, III, 202; *Sewall’s Ancient Dominions of Maine*, p. 82.

† *Strachey*, in *Me. Hist. Coll.*, III, 297, 301; *Ancient Dominions of Me.*, 89; *Willis’s History Portland*, 13, note *; *Williamson* says (I, 198): “Although according to some accounts they first went ashore upon Erascohegan [now known as Parker’s Island] on the Western Peninsula, yet it is believed they finally disembarked

accompanied by a chaplain, the Rev. Richard Seymour; and immediately on landing, a service of praise and thanksgiving was attended and formal possession was taken of the spot; and then was preached a sermon, for the second time in New England; at the conclusion of which the patent of the colony was read, together with the ordinances, laws, and instructions which had been prepared in England for the colony, and the names of the officers and administrators were announced. Not only were these initial acts consecrated by prayer and religious service, but worship was made a part of the regular routine of colonial life at Sagadahoc. Thus we are told that on a visit of Indians to the settlement, in October, the savages were taken to public prayers, morning and evening, on the Sabbath.*

Once fairly landed and organized, and the entire force of the colony was set at work to build and fortify a town, and to perfect other necessary arrangements for safety and convenience. And so diligent were the laborers, that before the winter was over they had built a commodious house and barn and some fifty cottages, a house of worship, and a fort armed with twelve

upon an island two hundred rods eastward, called Stage Island, from which, however, they shortly after removed to the main land, and built on a peninsula which now forms the southerly corner of Phipsburg." See also *Holmes*, i, 130, and note 5. This is controverted in the *Me. Hist. Coll.*, III, 285.

* *Strachey*, 298-302, 357; *Ancient Pemaquid*, 28.

guns, and even a small vessel of about fifty tons burden.*

Thus orderly and promising were the ways of this first English plantation in New England. And had these planters possessed the enduring, self-denying religious qualities which distinguished those of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, the history of this country would have been very unlike what it is now. But Popham, though a man of intelligence and enterprise, was more careful about the outfit of his colony and its laws and ordinances than about the moral character of his colonists. The consequences were what might have been anticipated. The labors and hardships incident to the work of founding a colony in the wilderness were more than mere hirelings could endure—many of whom had been forced into the service by poverty or criminal conduct; and before winter had fairly set in, a majority of the company were ready to abandon the plantation and return to England in the ships which brought them, and which sailed December 5, 1607; leaving behind only forty-five of the one hundred and twenty original colonists.†

* *Strachey*, 301-3; *Williamson*, 1, 198-9; *Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid*, 28; *Sewall's Ancient Dominions of Maine*, 92.

† A contemporary, Sir William Hamilton, says of the Sagadahoc company: "Those that went thither, being pressed to that as endangered by the law, or their own necessities (no enforced thing proving pleasant, discontented persons suffering while they act can seldom have good success, and never satisfaction) they after a winter's stay, dreaming of new hopes at home, returned

At first this colony was greatly aided, as the Plymouth colonists subsequently were, by friendly Indians, two or three of whom they brought with them from England. These natives had been stolen from the coast, by Captain Weymouth, in 1605; but were now returned to the neighborhood from which they had been originally taken. Having been kindly treated by Gorges, and having acquired a knowledge of the English language, they were disposed and qualified to act as interpreters between the Whites and the Indians.* The winter, however, proved to be a severe one; the storehouse caught fire, and most of the supplies for the colony were consumed; their president, George Popham, a man somewhat advanced in years and infirm, died; by their bad faith they turned the friendship of the natives to hostility; and to complete the list of evils, Lord John Popham, the patentee and patron of the colony, suddenly died soon after his brother; and Raleigh Gilbert, who succeeded the president in command of the colony, was recalled—or thought it best to return home, on hearing of the death of his brother, Sir John Gilbert—that he might look after his private affairs. These adverse events completely dispirited the colonists; and although they were furnished with fresh supplies from England by

back with the first occasion." — *Description of New England*, 1630, quoted in the Popham Colony controversy by Poole, Ballard, and Kidder, pp. 32, 34.

* *Strachey*, chap. ix and x, partic. p. 308; *Me. Hist. Coll.*, 111.

the providence of the patentees, they resolved to abandon the enterprise and break up the settlement; which they did in the spring or summer of 1608. Thus, before one year had elapsed from the time of their landing at Sagadahoc, the entire company was scattered, or on their homeward passage to England. And what was worse than the simple failure of this well-appointed colony — for it was nothing strange for colonies to fail in those days — was the ill report of the land which the fugitives carried to England, tending to discourage, as it did for many years, all further colonization in that direction. Sir Francis Popham, it is true, continued to send ships to the coast for trade and fishing, and perhaps to keep alive the claim of the family to the Sagadahoc country; for that section of Maine was regarded as specially desirable for colonization purposes, and repeated though abortive efforts were made to secure settlements on the coast.* For there were at least three men in England whom no adverse reports of this eastern country could discourage. One was Captain John Smith, another

* *Strachey, ut sup.*; *Prince*, 113, 119; *Hubbard, ut sup.*; *Williamson*, 1, 198-203; *Felt*, 1, 44-46; *Speech of John Wingate Thornton at the Fort Popham Celebration*, Aug. 29, 1862, *passim*. As to the exceptionable materials which formed the bulk of this colony — persons who were "pressed to that enterprise as endangered by the Law, or their own necessities" — in other words criminals and vagrants — see the proofs collected by Mr. Thornton, *partic. pp.* 4, 12-13; also *The Popham Colony*, Boston, 1866, *passim*, *partic. pp.* 27-32.

was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the third was Captain John Mason.

Smith came on this coast in the month of April, 1614, stopping first at Monhegan, and then sailing to Sagadahoc. Here he built boats, navigated the rivers, and explored the coast all along east and west, and opened trade with the natives. On his return to England he published an account of his voyage, accompanied by a map of the coast, and exerted himself in every possible way to stir up a spirit of enterprise and to promote colonization in America.

Gorges had been concerned in the Popham enterprise; and, on the return of the discouraged colonists with their sad stories, freely gave them all the lie, both by his words and deeds. But, taught by sad experience, he resolved first to send out reliable agents, to explore the coast and country of Maine thoroughly and to gather all necessary information. Among these agents was Richard Vines, an accomplished, energetic and reliable man. Under the direction of his employer, Vines made repeated voyages to this coast, and pretty thoroughly explored it, between 1616 and 1619. At length he fixed on Winter Harbor, at the mouth of the Saco river, as the best place for a new colony. This was about 1619. Nothing of importance, however, was done there for some years.*

* In 1614 John Smith, with two ships under his command, was sent from London to occupy Sagadahoc if circumstances permitted. But they did not. While in that neighborhood, he met

The successful establishment of the colony at Plymouth, in 1620-21, gave new life and courage to the friends of New England colonization; and Gorges and Mason were among the first to feel the inspiration. On the 10th of August, 1622, these gentlemen procured from the great Plymouth Council a patent — already mentioned in the sketch of New Hampshire — of all the country between the Merrimac river and the Sagadahoc, extending from the Atlantic coast back to the rivers Canada and Iroquois, and including the “savage nations” towards the great lakes. This immense tract of country they named “The Province of Laconia;” and to offset the evil reports of the Popham colonists, they took pains to have it represented as a very paradise. Its coast, they reported, abounded in fine harbors; rivers and streams of fresh water flowed through the land in every direction; mountains and valleys variegated the surface, together with extensive forests of choice timber; while wild fruits and

“on the Main against Monhegan, a ship of Sir Francis Popham, which had many years used that part only.” A third attempt to revive this colony appears to have been made in 1619, and again in 1622. — *Felt*, i, 48-49, 70, 95; Vines, it appears, was at Saco, or Biddeford (Winter Harbor) in 1615-1618, and in 1623. *Felt* calls Vines “a learned and pious gentleman” (p. 95), “an Episcopalian clergyman” (p. 48); but in an official paper, Gorges calls him Richard Vines *Esquire*, his “Steward General.” — *Folsom's Saco*, pp. 53, 73. *Williamson* says that the first winter they passed in the country was, in all probability, A. D. 1617-18, and at the mouth of the Saco river. — Vol. i, p. 227.

nuts and gums were found in spontaneous abundance everywhere. Deer, beaver, and game of every description enlivened all the woods, while the waters swarmed with fish of various kinds. At the same time it was proclaimed that the clear, pure atmosphere, and the absence of everything pestilential or hurtful, insured a long and happy life to every fortunate settler on these elysian fields.*

Under the stimulus of these extravagant representations, backed by the energy of Gorges and Mason and the encouragement derived from the success of the Plymouth colony, settlements were speedily begun in different places along the coast of Maine. The first permanent settlement was at the island of Monhegan, off the entrance of St. George's river, as early as 1622-23, if not earlier.† And as early as 1623, a settlement was begun at Saco, by Richard Vines, the agent of Gorges; which, though it proved ultimately successful, made but slow progress for several years, containing in 1636 only about one hundred and fifty souls. Probably about the same time (1623-1625) another attempt was made at Sagadahoc, and settlements were begun at Sheepscot, and Damariscotta, and Pemaquid, and at St. George's river.‡ But they were generally feeble and

* *Belknap's New Hamp.*, 1, 11; *Williamson*, 1, 61, 225.

† *Ib.*, 226. This island, called also St. George's, had been a place of frequent resort for many years previous to 1622-23.

‡ *Williamson*, 1, 54, 237, 264; *Folsom's Saco*, chap. i, partic. pp. 22-25; *Bradford's Plym.*, 154, 336; *Willis's Hist. Portland*, 20.

unpromising—mere fishing and trading settlements, containing few elements of permanency.

The enterprising Plymouth colonists soon discovered the advantages of a settlement for trade on the coast of Maine. As early as May, 1622, they had learned the way to Monhegan, and in the spring of 1624 were sending their boats eastward, to fish. In 1625 they sent a boat-load of

Ancient Pemaquid originally included Monhegan and its sister island, the Damariscove Islands, and a considerable territory on the main land, extending back from the promontory from which it derives its Indian name.—*Thornton's Anc. Pemaquid*, 49. In 1630 this settlement contained 84 families, besides the fishermen, and a population of 500 or more English inhabitants. It was a place of much business and was larger than Quebec.—*Ib.*, 65, 101-2; *Thornton* says, "It was probably permanently occupied before Plymouth was settled, though by a changing population, mere sojourners, or casual visitors, rather than by colonists."—*Ancient Pemaquid*, p. 31. See the evidence of this contained in chap. iv. *Folsom* says that the first permanent settlement in Maine, at Pemaquid, was in 1628.—*Hist. Saco*, 201.

Sullivan gives a list of settlements, families, farmers and fishermen (or rather fishing boats) known to have been in Maine at a very early date, from 40 to 70 years previous to 1701, when the list was furnished by Capt. Sylvanus Davis:

At Sagadahoc, many families and 10 boats.

At Cape Newaggen, many families and 15 boats.

At Damariscotta, " " " 15 "

At Monhegan, " " " 20 "

At Mintinicus Island " " " 20 "

At Sagadahoc, 20 farmers; east side of the river, to Merry Meeting Bay, 31 farmers; about Cape Newaggen there were 6 farmers; at Pemaquid, 15 farmers; at St. George's, 84 families, as early as 1630 or 1640; and inland 91 families about the same time.—*History District of Maine*, 1795.

corn up the Kennebec river, to trade for beaver, and in return got seven hundred weight of these skins, besides some other furs. In 1626 they erected a trading house on the Penobscot, probably at Castine or Bagaduce Point; and in 1627-1629 secured a patent for a tract of land fifteen miles on either side the Kennebec river, from Cobbisecontee Falls upwards about fifteen miles, and the river within these bounds, and "free ingress, egress and regress from the sea called the western ocean." Here they maintained for many years a trading house, on the spot where the city of Augusta now stands, or at Georgetown; and in 1654 established a form of civil government and required from the inhabitants the oath of allegiance to the Plymouth Government.*

Christopher Levett, an intelligent and prudent man, of the great Plymouth Council, who personally examined all the coast of Maine in 1623-1624, with a view to a settlement, finally pitched on Casco Bay as the best place, obtained a grant of six thousand acres at "Quack," which he named "York," near where Portland now stands, and built a fortified house and made other preparations for an immediate settlement of the place.

* *Prince*, 202-3, 225, 235; *Sullivan's Hist. Me.*, p. 158, in *Greenleaf*, 155; *Bradford's Plymouth*, 204, 221, 232, 244, 250, 316; *Baylies' Hist. Plymouth*, 1, 150, 151, 188, 191-193, where the patent is particularly described; and vol. 11, p. 16, and particularly Part v, chap. iii; *Williamson*, 1, 236, note; *Me. Hist. Coll.*, 11, 193-95, 200; *Willis's Portland*, 23.

He then went back to England for his family, leaving ten men in charge of his property. But, for some unexplained reason, Levett never returned to this country. His plantation was speedily broken up, and we lose sight of this intelligent, enterprising man.

This was the first settlement within the bounds of ancient Falmouth, which originally included the present town of Falmouth, Cape Elizabeth, the city of Portland, and the town of Westbrook, together with several large and valuable islands in Casco Bay.*

About the year 1623 or 1624, the indomitable Gorges undertook to plant a small colony in Maine, at his own private expense. He selected twenty-four thousand acres on either side of the Agamenticus or York river, and sent over his grandson, Ferdinando Gorges, an accomplished and ambitious young officer, who possessed a good share of his grandfather's enterprise and energy, to superintend this settlement, which he named Georgiana, and which was afterwards called York.†

As early as 1628, Thomas Purchase and George

* Levett on his first return to England published a very interesting account of his explorations in Maine, which proves him to have been a very careful and intelligent observer; and one cannot but mourn the failure of his plans and purposes in visiting these shores. — See *Maine Hist. Soc.'s Coll.*, 11, 72-109; *Willis's Hist. Portland*, Preface, and p. 26 and note. 2d ed., 1865.

† *Williamson*, 1, 231; *Felt*, 1, 95; *Folsom's Saco and Biddeford*, 24.

Way of Dorchester, England, obtained a grant of eight or ten miles on either side of the Pejepscot river above Merry Meeting Bay — the Quabacook of the Indians. And on this grant, in 1628, Purchase pitched his habitation near the foot of Pejepscot Falls, and became a planter and fur trader, and there lived until about 1683. Other planters gradually gathered into the same neighborhood. We are fearful, however, that Mr. Purchase did not exert himself much to establish the institutions of religion in the settlement. For it was he who married "the comely young woman" whom the notorious Sir Christopher Gardiner travelled with in this country as his "cousin," leaving one or more wives in England to weep over his infidelity; and it was he who gave Gardiner a sanctuary from the Massachusetts authorities, about 1631.*

Two patents were granted in February, 1629, to Richard Vines and John Oldham, and to Thomas Lewis and John Boynton, for four miles each along the shore, and eight miles each along the banks of the Saco river. And the next year settlements were begun about Casco Bay. Settlements had been in existence several years on the western banks of the Pemaquid, and along the banks of the Sagadahoc from 1626 to the time of the Indian wars. About Damariscotta

* *Maine Historical Collections*, 111, 315-18, and note; *Winthrop's Hist.*, 1, 35, 54, 57; *Allen's Biog. Dic.*, arts. Purchase and Gardiner; Dudley's Letter in *Young's Chron. of Mass.*, 333-35.

Lower Falls and above Wiscasset there were, as early as 1630, about fifty families; besides settlements at Boothbay, Woolwich, and other places, and a number along the northerly banks of the Piscataqua; some of which had been in existence from about the year 1623. In fact, the coast of Maine between the years 1623-1630 fairly swarmed with small, temporary settlements, some of them antedating the settlements in Massachusetts Bay and even that of Plymouth.* The extent of immigration prior to 1630 may be estimated by the fact that there were in that year eighty-four families, besides fishermen, settled along the coast of Maine; and that six years later, in 1636, there were between the Piscataqua and the Penobscot more than fourteen hundred white inhabitants, one hundred of whom were under Congregational influence.†

Maine, indeed, was favorite ground with such men as Gorges and Mason and Popham and Smith—the most enterprising and energetic of all the

* Between 1622 and 1634, just before the final division of their territory between Mason, Gorges, and Alexander, the Great Plymouth Council made no less than twelve distinct grants to individuals, of land within the territory of Maine. Many of these grants overlapped, or interfered with others previously made, and thus furnished ample ground for subsequent disputes and contentions about land titles.—*Willis's Hist. Portland*, 63, 64, gives a list of these grants.

† *Williamson*, 1, 128; *Felt*, 1, 92. *Josselyn* attributes the readiness of the people to submit to the authority of Massachusetts, to the presence of numerous Puritans among the early settlers.—*See Sullivan, Hist. Me.*, p. 70.

early patrons of New England colonization, the Pilgrims and Puritans alone excepted — and was the resort of those whose main objects were fishing and trade. Mason and Gorges had agents in the country constantly for many years, and spent immense sums of money in various undertakings on this coast. But after all, fishing and trade being the prime ends and objects contemplated, no substantial growth was secured, and nothing at all commensurate with the expenditures incurred was gained. In fact, there was but little growth and prosperity in these settlements until after the "Province of Maine" came reluctantly under the government of Massachusetts in 1651-53.*

Gorges had arranged a very complete system of government for his Province, and erected Agamenticus into a city. But though a man of intelligence and a good churchman, he seems to have undervalued or overlooked almost entirely the main springs of a prosperous colony — institutions of learning and religion. The earliest settlers of this Province had neither schools nor organized

* *Hubbard*, 512; *Hutchinson*, 1, 176; *Holmes, Ann.*, 1, 236. Massachusetts, as early as 1641-43, claimed, as within her chartered limits, all the country eastward as far as Cape Porpoise; and in 1674 purchased Gorges' Province in Maine for twelve hundred pounds. The first in Maine to submit to Massachusetts were the people of Kittery; next, Georgiana or York, in October and November, 1652.

churches, and seldom heard a sermon until two ministers went from Massachusetts on a voluntary mission, subsequently to 1637. Some of these settlements, and some of the earliest New Hampshire settlements, were so disorderly and immoral as to be regarded as grievous nuisances by Massachusetts — harboring, as they did, vicious and lawless persons who had been expelled from the other colonies.*

* *Winthrop* says of a murderer who had escaped from the hands of justice, that "the governor sent after him, but those of the Piscataquack conveyed him away and openly withstood his apprehension." And adds, "It was their usual manner (some of them) to countenance etc., all such lewd persons as fled from us to them." — Vol. 1, 269. See also p. 276, 291. *Lechford* says of the settlements in Maine, that "there is want of good ministers there. The place hath had an ill report by some; but of late some good acts of justice have been done there, and divers accomplisht and discreete gentlemen there are."

Winthrop, under date of "mo. 3-10," 1643, assigns as a reason for not receiving delegations from Maine to consult about a union of the colonies, that "they ran a different course from us, both in their ministry and civil administration; for they had lately made Agamenticus (a poor village) a corporation, and had made a taylor their mayor; and had entertained one Hull, an excommunicated person and very contentious, for their minister."

The Royal Commissioners who visited New England by the authority of Charles II, in 1634, for hearing and determining all matters of complaint, and settling and securing the peace of the country — give a sorry picture of portions of Maine, even at so late a date as their visit. — See *Hutchinson's Coll.*, p. 424.

Belknap (Am. Biog., 1, pp. 387-8) represents the plantation on York river, about 1637, when the Puritans commenced missionary operations there, as "without order or morals. No provision was made for public institutions; schools were unknown, and they had no ministers, till, in pity of their deplorable state, two

From this general survey of the early history of Maine, the reader must be prepared to find its ecclesiastical history quite unlike that of either of the other New England colonies. So far as it had any religious character, it was at first Episcopalian, and quite antagonistic to Puritanism in all its forms. Indeed, Gorges, the grand proprietor of Maine, was regarded by the Massachusetts authorities as their special enemy for the truth's

went thither from Boston, on a voluntary mission." *Hubbard* says: "In fine, the inhabitants of all these plantations at Piscataqua, and in the Province of Maine, having wearied themselves with endless contentions and strifes, and having tried all conclusions of government, both by patent and combination, and finding neither sufficient in any tolerable degree of comfortable order . . . they take hold of the skirt of Massachusetts, expecting that under their wings they might find an healing of their breaches." . . . — *Hist. N. E.*, 224-25.

While it is admitted that this testimony of contemporaries regarding the early settlements in Maine may not be altogether unprejudiced, and may ascribe to them generally what was true only of a small portion of them, yet one cannot reasonably conclude that this concurrent unfavorable testimony was altogether untrue. This is admitted by Mr. *Willis*, who says: "The want of a regular government east of the Piscataqua for many years, encouraged a laxity of morals which did not prevail in any other part of New England." — *Hist. Portland*, 142. And *Sewall* says that "the state of society in these newly settled plantations was chiefly distinguished for its lawlessness. Every man did what seemed right in his own eyes, and rapine, violence, and crime prevailed." — *Anc. Domin.*, 110.

Sullivan says, Gorges and Mason, previous to 1640, had established no government in Maine, no form of worship, no ministers, no schools. Their views in settling Maine were quite different from those of the Puritans. Gorges and Mason were all for manors and provinces. — *Hist. Dist. Me.*, p. 70.

sake. The charter for the Province or County of Maine, obtained from Charles I, April 3, 1639, did indeed require that the faith and order of the Church of England should be established in the Province, and gave to the proprietary the patronage of all churches and chapels in the Province.* Yet it does not appear that any Episcopal Establishment was erected in the colony by Gorges, or that even a church of that order was established in Georgiana, the capital. The Rev. Richard Gibson, an Episcopal clergyman of culture and popular talents, seems to have served different plantations in the "Eastern Country" for five or six years prior to 1642, after which he returned to England. We hear of him at Richmond's Island near Portland, where he was in 1637, and where it is thought there was an Episcopal church at one time. We hear of him also at the Isles of Shoals and at Portsmouth;† at all which places some provision was early made for public worship, though no churches were organized except possibly at Richmond's Island. ‡

* *Williamson*, 1, 272-3.

† *Hubbard*, 381; *Williamson*, 1, 291.

‡ *Winthrop*, 11, 66; *Willis's Portland*, 36, 2d ed.

Richmond's Island lies nearly a mile from the southerly side of Cape Elizabeth; is about three miles in circumference, and contains about two hundred acres of land. It seems to have been first occupied by Walter Bagnall, in 1628, an unprincipled adventurer, without any title to the island, who was killed by the Indians in 1631, in retaliation for his fraudulent dealings with them. But soon after Bagnall's death, the island was purchased

When Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, came to this country in 1623, as Governor General of New England, the Rev. William Morrill, a learned and estimable Episcopal clergyman, accompanied him to exercise "superintendence over the churches here." But finding no Episcopal churches to superintend, and very few persons disposed to adopt Episcopacy, like a sensible man, Mr. Morrill returned shortly to England, as did the Governor General, both apparently satisfied that there was as little call for Episcopal "superintendence" over the churches as there was for a governor generalship over the colonies.* The motives and ends of the original patentees were personal, worldly, and at the best but moderately patriotic. They sought wealth and fame by the settlement of a new country, supposed to abound in precious minerals, and open for an unlimited amount of trade in fish and furs and lumber. Agriculture entered but slightly into the plans of the first settlers. They relied on England

by Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyear, merchants of Plymouth, England, and with it all the present town of Cape Elizabeth. John Winter was appointed their principal agent, and the island gradually became quite a business place and populous for those times. — See *Willis*, chap. i, p. 35.

* *Bradford's Hist. Plym.*, 154; *Felt*, i, 77, 78. For some account of the scheme of Gorges and others—formed, or rather revised and improved in 1635—for a division of New England into twelve Provinces, extending from St. Croix to Virginia, with a Governor General appointed by the Crown, and twelve deputies, etc., etc., see *Hubbard*, 228-233.

mainly for their daily bread. Immediate pecuniary returns were demanded by the proprietors, and everything was subordinate to this. The men employed in the earliest settlements of Maine were, for the most part, as mercenary as their employers. They came hither for hire solely. They were neither Separatists nor Puritans. They had no complaints to make against the hierarchy of the church nor the despotism of the government of England. They had neither civil rights nor religious privileges to seek in this new world. Popham, Gorges and Mason found it so hard to enlist men into their service for America, that they could not be overscrupulous about the morals of their men. We speak now of the rank and file of the earliest colonists; for among the agents and superintendents, there were men of superior character, who would have made better returns to their employers had their subordinates been of a better quality. But the foundation principle of these establishments in Maine was essentially unsound and vicious, and hence their failure.

But though the first colonists of Maine were as described, there gradually worked into the mass better elements, men of more sober and religious views, men who sought for themselves permanent homes in the Province. As early as 1626-27, the Plymouth people, as we have seen, were preparing the way for a Christian settlement around their "Truck House" on the Penobscot. Two years

later they secured a patent for a tract of land on the Kennebec, where also they had been trading for some two or three years, and where they ultimately built up a little Congregational colony. In March, 1631-2, a considerable tract of land between the Penobscot and Muskongus rivers, extending ten leagues into the country, was granted to John Beauchamp of London, and to Thomas Leverett of Boston, England, but who in 1633 was a deacon in the First Church of Boston, Massachusetts. These gentlemen had in view, doubtless, something better than a mere trading and fishing settlement, for they were Puritans. A company was immediately despatched to begin a settlement on the eastern bank of the St. Georges river, five miles below the head of tide water. This was known afterwards as the Waldo patent. Through this and other avenues Puritan influence began to make its way into Maine at quite an early date.* And the general thriftiness and growing importance of the Pilgrim and Puritan colonies along the coast had no inconsiderable influence on the eastern settlements. Even Gorges himself felt this, when he proposed to commit the government of his Province, and the management of his private affairs in this country, to the hands of the Massachusetts authorities. But though, for prudential reasons, this offer was declined, yet the intimation from the people of

* *Bradford*, 258, *Deane's ed.*; *Felt*, 1, 92, 154, 170; *Sullivan*, 70.

the eastern settlements that ministerial labor might be useful and acceptable, induced several Massachusetts ministers to visit the Province before there were any churches there. And their preaching doubtless did much to prepare the way for the subsequent establishment of Congregationalism in Maine. One of the earliest of these Puritan laborers was William Thompson, who was driven out of England for his nonconformity, and arrived in Massachusetts in 1637. Soon after this he went on a mission to Agamenticus, where he was very kindly received and was the means of doing much good. After a year or more he returned to Massachusetts, and was ordained over the church in Braintree in June, 1639. Mr. Thompson was from Lancashire, England; a graduate of Oxford University, and had the reputation of being "a very holy man" — "a pious and learned minister" — "a lively, powerful and useful preacher" — "a man abounding in zeal for the propagation of the gospel."* Thompson's successor at Agamenticus was the notorious George Burdett, a man of ability and popular address, but nevertheless a graceless adventurer. He first united with the church in Salem, where he preached for more than a year with general acceptance, and subsequently was at Dover, where, too, he was quite popular for a season, but proved in the end utterly untrustworthy and even

* *Winthrop, Hubbard, Neal, Johnson.*

immoral. He was at York in 1638, and was well received until his true character was discovered. He then left the place and the country in the autumn of 1641. On the 23d of March, 1640-1, Thomas Gorges wrote to Governor Winthrop from Agamenticus: "We have sent younge Mr. Ward of Newbury a call. I hope the Lord will be assisting to us in it." And in April, 1641, as we learn from Winthrop, Mr. Peter and Mr. Dalton, "with one of Acomenticus, went from Piscataquack, with Mr. John Ward," son of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, "who was to be entertained there for their minister." And, though they lost their way, and had to wander in the woods two days and one night, without food or fire, in the snow and wet, they at length reached their destination. And there Mr. Ward seems to have remained some time, preaching to the people. He was afterwards settled as pastor of the church in Haverhill, Mass., in 1645.* Why these two ministers accompanied Mr. Ward, we are not informed. There is no other intimation that a church may have been organized there at that time and Mr. Ward ordained over it; yet it is

* *Winthrop*, 11, 29; *Farmer's Register*, sub-nom.; *Allen's Biog. Dic.* *Lechford* says: "Mr. Ward's sonne is desired to come into the Province of Maigne. There is one Master Jenner gone there of late."—*Plain Dealing*, or *News from New England*, p. 105, comp'd with p. 84 and note, Trumbull's edition, Boston, 1867. *Lechford* left this country in the summer of 1641, and his book was published in London—or rather his "Address to the Reader" was dated—London, January 17, 1641-2.

quite possible, though Mr. Ward's brief continuance in Maine is certainly against the supposition. The next Congregational minister who visited Agamenticus was the Rev. Joseph Hull. He was minister of Weymouth from 1635 to 1639, after which he preached at Bass River, or Beverly, and at the Isles of Shoals, where a meeting-house was erected as early as 1639. Some time in 1643 he found his way to Agamenticus, and continued there a year or more, being, perhaps, the minister referred to in "New England's First Fruits," as "a minister from the Bay [who] had preached at Agamenticus and been instrumental in the conversion of some to Christ, 'who bless God that he ever came thither.' " *

Thus it appears that there was Congregational preaching, if not a church, at Agamenticus (York) from a very early date; and it is not impossible, from an earlier date considerably than can now be traced; for even the date of the existing first church there is uncertain. It is thought to have been organized in 1673, when the Rev. Shubael Dummer was ordained. But as no record can be found of the organization at that time, it is possible that it occurred at an earlier date, and that the church had fallen into decay, and was revived and made to flourish under the active labors of

* *Felt*, i, 448, 477, 500, 501. Mr. Hull seems to have been in York at the close of 1644, for Winthrop has an entry, without date, but between November and February, 1644, in which Mr. Hull is called "the minister" of "Agamenticus." — Vol. II, 210.

Mr. Dummer, who preached there probably some time before his ordination, and was pastor nineteen years after that date.* This is now regarded as the oldest church in Maine, though not probably organized until nearly fifty years after Gorges, the grandson of Sir Ferdinando, began the first settlement with planters, artificers and laborers in 1624; and forty-three years after the renewal of this settlement by Edward Godfrey, in 1630; and twenty-two years after it had passed under the rule of Massachusetts, in 1632.

The second Congregational church in Maine in point of date, is the First Church in Wells, or perhaps we should rather say that the existing first church in Wells dates next after York; as there is good reason to believe that there was a Congregational church in Wells some thirty years earlier than there was in York. For in April or May, 1643, the Rev. John Wheelwright and some friends purchased of Thomas Gorges four or five hundred acres of land at Webhannet, which they named Wells. This they surveyed, laid out regularly as a town, and immediately began to settle after the Massachusetts fashion. Among the first planters were Henry Boad, Edward Risworth, Francis Littlefield, and Augustine Storer, or Story. These were Mr. Wheelwright's Exeter friends and church members. The first settlers—

* *Greenleaf's Sketches of the Ecc. Hist. of the State of Maine*, pp. 9-10. Portsmouth, 1821.

either regarding themselves as already a church, or else organizing themselves into a Congregational church after going to Wells—had Mr. Wheelwright for their pastor until 1647, when he removed to Hampton, N. H. There does not exist any distinct record of this church organization; but repeated mention is made by early writers of Mr. Wheelwright, as “pastor of a church in Wells;” and from his well known character, and from his course at Exeter, the inference is unavoidable that there was a church in Wells from its first settlement. That a church existed there in 1653, is certainly suggested by the complaint of the Commissioners for receiving the submission of the inhabitants of Maine to the government of Massachusetts, that they found no small difficulty, especially at Wells, from those who called themselves of the church there. And the same is suggested by a record of a “Court held at York, July 1, 1661,” where is found an order to this effect: “That the town of Wells, at present being destitute of any fit person to carry on the worship of God amongst them on the Lord’s day; It is therefore ordered . . . that, till they can better provide for themselves . . . Mr. Ezekiel Knight and William Hammond shall duly attend the place of public meeting on the Lord’s day, and that they improve their best abilities in speaking out of the word of God, praying, singing psalms, and reading some good orthodox sermons, as may most turn to the edification of them that hear and

the sanctification of the Sabbath, as the law of God and their jurisdiction require." And this, Greenleaf tells us, was probably the order of things in Wells for about three years; after which the town hired, from time to time, a minister to preach to them. In the meantime, a meeting-house and a parsonage had been erected. In the confusion which attended the Indian wars, all order, civil and religious, was so seriously disturbed that nothing like a regular church organization or even Christian worship appears to have been maintained there until about 1701, when twelve men united in covenant and became a regular Congregational church, and the Rev. Samuel Emery was ordained pastor. He was succeeded in 1725 by Rev. Samuel Jefferdson.*

It is not at all improbable that the course

* My authorities for this sketch of Wells are: *A Life of Rev. John Wheelwright*, by Rev. John A. Vinton, of Boston, *passim*; *Williamson's Hist. of Me.*, 1, 293—; *Winthrop*, 11, 162; *Felt's Ecc. Hist. N. E.*, 1, 500-1, 503; *Allen's Biog. Dic.*; *Farmer's Register*; *Belknap's Hist. N. H.*, 1, 6—; *Sullivan's Hist. Me.*, 235; *Hubbard's Gen. Hist.*, 365—; and *Greenleaf's Sketches of the Ecc. Hist. of Me.*, chap. 2, partic. pp. 17-21.

Maine was disturbed and distressed by Indian wars from 1675 to 1700 with little intermission; and its settlement was thus greatly retarded. The remoteness of the Province from the more populous sections of New England, its proximity to numerous and warlike tribes of Indians, who were largely under the control of French Jesuits, and the easy access which its noble rivers afforded the French and Indians to its settlements—were all most serious drawbacks to its early prosperity. At the reduction of Quebec, in 1759, Maine had only 13,000 inhabitants; but in 1795 she had nearly 100,000. — *Sullivan*, 44.

pursued for years by the good people at Wells may have been adopted in other new settlements in the Province; and that lay preaching, and the reading of sermons and the maintenance of devotional services by laymen, may have kept alive the vital spark until the settlements became large enough to support ministers and sustain public worship.

The first clergyman settled in the vicinity of Saco was the Rev. Richard Gibson, a churchman already mentioned. He came over, probably, with Mr. Trelawney's colonists to Spurwink, and was partly supported by him. His name first appears in the court records in 1636, when the settlement contained about two hundred inhabitants. And at a later period he had "corn growing at Saco." He removed to Portsmouth in 1640-41, and left the country in 1642.* The Rev. Robert Jordan, another Episcopal minister, appeared at Saco about 1640, and remained in that neighborhood until about 1675; when he was driven away by the Indian wars to Newcastle, where he died about 1679, aged seventy-eight years. He and Mr. Gibson seem to have divided their Sabbath ministrations between Spurwink, where Jordan generally lived, and the Casco settlements.†

* There is a curious and extraordinary letter from Gibson to Gov. Winthrop among the Winthrop Papers. It is dated "14^o January, 1638 [-9]" and is signed, "Richard Gibsonn, Minr. of the Gospell, att Richmond Island and Saco." — *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 1, Fifth Series, pp. 287-88.

† *Folsom*, 79, 80; *Felt*, 1, 246, 292.

The settlements at Saco and Biddeford were in some respects quite unlike most of the other plantations in Maine. This neighborhood was the home for many years of Richard Vines, the confidential business agent and "Steward General" of Gorges. He was here as early as 1616, and made it his habitual residence from about 1623 to 1647. In July of that year, we find him a planter and physician at the island of Barbadoes. This we learn from letters addressed by him to his "ever honored friend," Governor John Winthrop.* During his residence and agency at Saco, there appears to have been an organized government, and taxes were levied for the support of public worship. Vines himself does not appear to have acted as a religious teacher, but paid his tax with others, and as large a sum as any man in the settlement, for the maintenance of public worship.†

* *Hutchinson's Collections*, pp. 225-24; also, *Winthrop's Letters*.

† *Folsom* says: "Gorges exercised no jurisdiction in New England before 1636. So ill defined or feebly asserted was his title under the Laconia patent that his right even to assign small parcels of land, except in the neighborhood of the Piscataqua, fell into dispute. No government therefore existing in this quarter [around Saco] the planters immediately after their arrival, apparently, formed a Combination, similar to those afterwards established at Exeter and other plantations in New Hampshire; voluntarily agreeing to obey the laws of England as administered by officers chosen from their own number." Such combinations, he supposes, and not unreasonably, to have been formed by the settlement at Saco and elsewhere. — *Hist. Saco and Biddeford*, p. 49. In 1636 Capt. William Gorges was sent over with

It is possible that the same may have been true of other settlements — that good government and the institutions of religion may have been maintained in them by voluntary agreements and the general consent of the planters; but the loss of early records and the absence of reliable early local histories prevent us from knowing certainly. It must be remembered that the early settlements of Maine were especially exposed to Indian ravages, and that many of them were plundered and burned; and as a consequence, that there now exist few or no town records which date back beyond 1653, when the Province passed under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.*

commissions to seven Councillors, and set up a government and a general court, and called his Province New Somersetshire. But it is doubtful whether it was maintained longer than a year or two; for in 1637 Gorges sent over an order to the Massachusetts authorities "to govern his Province of New Somersetshire, and to oversee his servants and private affairs." But the Massachusetts authorities excused themselves from "intermeddling," etc. — *Winthrop*, i, 231.

* The town records of Saco furnish the following: "1636, 7ber (September 7). The booke of rates for the minister, to be paide quarterly, the first payment to begin at Michaelmas next (Sept. 29) Capt. Richard Bonython, £3; Richard Vines, £3; Thomas Lewis, £3; Henry Boade, £2; John Wadlow, £2; Thomas Williams, £2;" and fifteen others, different sums, from £1 10s to 15 shillings; in all, enough to make £32 5s. — *Folsom's Saco and Biddeford*, 32-33, 96. In reference to the Indian wars and ravages, see *Holmes's Annals*, i, 378-85; *Belknap's New Hampshire*, i, chap. x. *Williamson* estimates the losses by the wars of 1675-77 at two hundred and sixty whites killed or carried into captivity from which they never returned; besides one

The first Congregationalist minister who officiated in Saco was probably the Rev. Thomas Jenner. He was in Roxbury, Mass., as early as 1635, was made a freeman in 1636, and in January, 1637-8, was preaching at Weymouth. He represented the town in the General Court in 1640. But some disagreement with his people induced him to leave them and go to Saco; where we find him in 1641, and where he remained until after April, 1646. He returned to England as early as 1651.* He seems to have been a very discreet, good man, and a very useful minister. Letters from him to Governor Winthrop show this; and a letter from Mr. Vines, who then lived at Saco, confirms the impression. Vines writes from Saco to Governor Winthrop, January, 1640, acknowledging his courtesy in helping them to a minister, for which the whole plantation was beholden to him, and willingly contributed for his

hundred and fifty or more who did return, and large numbers of whom there were no accounts. Dwelling-houses were burned in every direction, possessions laid waste, domestic animals killed, and all kinds of property plundered and destroyed to a large amount. — Vol. I, chap. 10, partic. p. 553. About ten years after this destructive war, another was begun by the Indians, supported by the French, which raged with more or less violence for about ten years. All the settlements in Maine, with the exception of four or five, were pillaged, burned, or desolated; about four hundred and fifty of the inhabitants lost their lives, and half as many more were carried into captivity. — *Williamson*, I, 650. See *Penhallow's Indian Wars*, *passim*.

* *Winthrop*, I, 250, and note; *Willis's Portland*, 879-80; *Lechford*, 105 and note, 178.

stipend £46 per annum. He expresses the hope that God would bless and sanctify his word to them, adding: "I like Mr. Jenner, his life and conversation, and also his preaching, if he would let the Church of England alone."* The governor probably gave Jenner a hint of this complaint; for in a letter dated the 26th of April, 1641, Mr. Jenner, after acknowledging the governor's kindness in writing to him and giving him judicious counsel, explains the course he had pursued at Saco; saying that he had not troubled the people at all with church discipline or the constitution of churches, but had bent his whole studies to show them their miserable and lost estate without Christ. Nor had he inveighed in the least manner against the Church of England, so far as he remembered; but had been fearful to give the people any distaste to his preaching of Christ by so doing. He had, however, on one occasion spoken strongly against the religion of the Papists, and condemned those practices which he saw the people there superstitiously addicted to. This, he said, was well received by all but Mr. Vines and one other person [probably Capt. Boynton] who thought he struck at the Church of England, though he mentioned her not. After this, he says, he was drawn very reluctantly into a private discussion with Mr. Vines, before his family, on the subject of baptizing infants with

* *Willis's Portland*, 877.

godfathers and godmothers. In this discussion, however, God through the riches of his mercy so strengthened him that Mr. Vines was silenced, and ever afterwards manifested towards him and his Master more respect and love than formerly, and was in the habit of taking notes of his sermons and repeating them before his family.

This little scrap of contemporaneous local history gives the reader a more vivid and satisfactory view of early Congregationalism in Maine than many pages of general statements would afford. That Mr. Jenner proved an acceptable and useful minister in those parts is quite evident from the fact which he states in this same letter to Winthrop—that he had “been solicited with from the inhabitants of Straten’s plantation [a section of Scarborough] and from those of Caskoe [Falmouth] to be a means to help each of them to a godly minister.” And he entreats the governor to do his “endeavor to furnish them both.” Whether he was able to comply with this request, we are not told; but it is not impossible that it was done temporarily at least.*

Besides these visits of the Massachusetts clergy, there were other influences at work towards Puritanizing Maine. The occasional visits of the eastern colonists themselves to Boston revealed to

* John Stratton and his associates had a grant in 1634 of two thousand acres of land on the south side of Cape Porpoise river. — *Willis's Portland*, 64, n. §; *Hist. Scarborough*, in *Me. Hist. Coll.*, III, 10-12.

them the very great contrast between the thrift, good order, general morality, and religious character of the Bay settlements,* and the opposite characteristics of the eastern settlements; much of which they rightly attributed to the lack of good ministers, and the absence of religious institutions in the Province. Thus we are told that persons from Saco, on visiting Massachusetts, were so struck with the beneficial effects of religion, that on their return they induced their neighbors to send a delegation to Boston, to entreat "for a godly minister to preach the word unto them. Which was done accordingly, not without good success to the people there and divers places about them." †

We have no account of any minister at Scarborough earlier than about 1659, when the Rev. John Thorpe of Black Point was complained of by Jordan and Josselyn, both Episcopalians, for "preaching unsound doctrine." In 1665 they

* *Lechford*, no partial witness, who deemed it his duty to tell all he knew against Massachusetts, in 1642, and who in fact thought the country was going to ruin for want of a king and a bishop—says honestly, that during his residence in the country in the years 1638–41, "Profane swearing, drunkenness and beggars are but rare in the compass of this Patent, through the circumspection of the Magistrates, and the Providence of God, the poore there living, by their labours at great wages, proportionally better than the rich by their stocks."—*Plain Dealing*, Trumbull's ed., p. 39. See also other similar testimonies, collected in note 99, *ut sup.*

† *New England's First Fruits*, in *Felt*, 1, 501.

had a Puritan minister and supported him by a tax on the planters.* After Mr. Jenner left Saco, about 1646, they were destitute of a minister for several years; nor was there any one in that immediate vicinity.† At Cape Porpoise, where there were planters as early as 1632 — which settlement was identified with that at Saco river — there was probably, at quite an early date, some sort of provision for religious instruction, and possibly an organized church; but in Saco proper there is no record of a Puritan preacher after Mr. Jenner left, until about 1666, when the Rev. Seth Fletcher was hired by the town. He probably continued to preach there until the place was sacked in 1675. Previous to his coming, public religious services were maintained in the town by Mr. Robert Booth, one of the principal inhabitants of the place, who was authorized by the Court of Commissioners, in 1653, to take the lead of public worship until a regular minister could be obtained.‡ In fact, after Massachusetts got control of the Province, all the towns were required to get able and faithful ministers; and if any town was unable to get such a minister, or to support him, then they were required to maintain public worship by lay agencies.§

* *Me. Hist. Coll.*, III, 153-5.

† *Folsom's Saco and Biddeford*, 127.

‡ *Greenleaf*, chap. 11; *Sullivan*, 222.

§ *Willis*, 144. But though required to maintain public worship, the towns were forbidden by the General Court of Massa-

In 1629, twenty-one years after the abandonment of the Popham colony on the Sagadahoc, John Parker, the great ancestor of the late Chief Justice Parker of Massachusetts, purchased of Robinhood, the Indian sachem who claimed the ownership of all the land in that vicinity, an island in the Sagadahoc, or Kennebec river, which still bears Parker's name and is occupied by his descendants—and there recommenced the settlement of that important river.* We are not informed as to Mr. Parker's religious sentiments; but we know that Puritanism from the purest source had found its way into that neighborhood two or three years before his purchase, through the trading house of the Plymouth people. And of the first purchaser and settler of what is now Bath, on the same river, in 1661, we are distinctly informed that he was a Puritan divine, a Congregationalist, or Presbyterian. The Rev. Robert Gutch, October 27, 1661, bought of Robinhood the land now included in the limits of Bath, and immediately commenced a settlement there. Thus, by 1670, some fifty families were located about the mouth of the Kennebec. In fact, as early as 1654, when the inhabitants of the Plymouth grant on the Kennebec were called to take the oath of fidelity to the Plymouth government, sixteen men

chusetts to allow any one to preach or prophesy to them habitually, without the authority of the four "next neighboring churches," or the county court. — *Sullivan*, 340.

* *Hist. Bath*, in *Me. Hist. Coll.*, 11, 19.

appeared at once and took the oath.* Gutch was from Salem, where he was a freeman and church member as early as 1642. In Maine, he preached in a meeting-house at the upper end of Arrowsic Island; and he remained in that vicinity to the time of his death, 1670, when he was drowned in crossing the river. The fact that there were many Presbyterians among the early settlers in this vicinity is thought to countenance the tradition that Gutch was a Presbyterian, but the fact that he was a member of a very staunch Congregational church in Salem goes to confirm the opinion that he was himself a Congregationalist; and according to Sewall, every other presumption is in favor of the same conclusion. Gutch seems to have been a devout, earnest, faithful and laborious frontier missionary; who made up in zeal for his Master, and devotion to his work among the scattered settlers of that wilderness, what he lacked of school learning.

We have now reviewed briefly, by the best light

* *Hist. Bath*, 11; *Me. Hist. Coll.*, 192-94, 204-5; *Sullivan*, 145; *Ancient Dominions Me.*, 234-37 — where may be found the fullest notice of Gutch. In the sketch of Bath, by Gen. Joseph Sewall, it is presumed that Gutch was Presbyterian; but in *Ancient Dominions of Me.*, by Rufus King Sewall, it is claimed, that "every indication is against such a presumption." See an account of the Plymouth patent in *Bradford*, 221, 232, 244, 250, *et passim*; *Baylies' Hist. Plymouth*, 11, 16, 63; v, 38-41 — where may be found a particular description of the patent, and an old map of the surrounding territory.

we could find, the early history of Congregationalism in Maine. It amounts to but little, it is true; but it is sufficient to show how New England Puritanism found its way into Episcopal Maine, in spite of all adverse and opposing influences; how, in fact, it came to be felt by the settlers themselves to be essential to the order, prosperity and very salvation of the Province. But the Congregationalism of Maine chiefly belongs to a much later period than we have yet reached in our history. There was indeed but little real progress of any kind in Maine until after Massachusetts had extended her government and institutions and protection over the Province, and had completely broken down the French and Indian power, which together had been its bane and curse for a quarter of a century. After this—and especially after the new charter of 1692 had made the District of Maine an integral part of the Province of Massachusetts—until 1820, when the District was formally separated from Massachusetts, erected into a State and admitted to the Union—the Old Bay Province and State was the foster mother of the “District;” and for long years—far within the memory of many now alive—the principal expenditures of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society were for the moral and religious improvement of Maine.

CHAPTER VIII.

RHODE ISLAND — ROGER WILLIAMS AND THE MASSACHUSETTS
GOVERNMENT — PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS — WHY MR. WIL-
LIAMS WAS BANISHED.

THE present State of Rhode Island—including Providence Plantations and the Isle of Rhodes—is the smallest State in the Union by at least one-half—its entire territory covering only thirteen hundred and forty square miles, less than nine hundred thousand acres. But Rhode Island is a fertile and delightful little country, distinguished alike for the productiveness of its soil and the enterprise and wealth of its inhabitants.

The first settlers of this territory were from Massachusetts, and largely persons of wealth and distinction. The first and most celebrated of them was Roger Williams, whose arrival in New England, February 5, 1630-1, was noted by Winthrop, as the arrival of “a godly minister with his wife.” He was a young man of culture, of piety, and of many attractive and lovable qualities; but he was altogether too radical and unsettled in his opinions for the moderate and cautious Massachusetts Puritans. Frank and outspoken, not to say inconsiderate and rash, he made no secret of his disagreement with the churches and magistrates, from his first coming among them. He refused

“to join with” the Boston church, “because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there;” and he condemned the magistrates, because they presumed to punish breaches of the Sabbath and the violation of other commandments of the First Table, “otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace.” These opinions, promulgated immediately on his arrival in the colony, excited the grave apprehensions of the Massachusetts rulers and ministers; and they labored with the church in Salem—which, from the start, was more inclined to Separatism than the Boston church—for calling and employing Mr. Williams, as they persisted in doing in April, 1631.* He did not, however, remain long in Salem; for in September, 1632, we find him in Plymouth Colony, “propheying” to the church there, where he had been for about a year, and where he remained for a year or two longer, winning the love of the cautious and judicious Bradford, who pronounces him “a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgement.” His teaching, Bradford says,† was well approved; “for the benefitte whereof I still blesse God and am thankfull to him, even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so farr as they agreed with

* *Winthrop*, 1, 91; *Hutchinson*, 1, 37–8.

† *Bradford's Hist. Plym. Plantation*, 310; *Winthrop's Journal*, 1, 41, 52–3, 91, 117, 162; *Knowles' Life of Roger Williams*, chap. iii.

truth." By November, 1633, Mr. Williams had returned to Salem; and after he had exercised by way of "prophecy" for awhile, became the sole minister of the church there, on the death of Mr. Skelton, in August, 1634.

At a meeting of the governor and assistants, December 27, 1633, a treatise which Mr. Williams had sent to them at their request, "and which he had formerly written to the governour and council of Plimouth," was considered; and after advising with some of the most judicious ministers, the court gave order "that Mr. Williams should be convented at the next court, to be censured, etc." There were three passages in this treatise, as Governor Winthrop tells us,* whereat the court were very much offended: "1st, For that he chargeth King James to have told a solemn publick lie, because in his patent, he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered this land. 2d, For that he chargeth him and others with blasphemy, for calling Europe Christendom, or the Christian world. 3d, For that he did apply personally to our present King, Charles, these three places in the Revelations [Rev. xvi: 13, 14; xvii: 12, 13; xviii: 9]." Another charge against Williams was, "4th, For concluding us all heere to lye under a sinne of unjust usurpation upon others possessions." †

* *Winthrop's Journal, or History of New England*, i, 122.

† Gov. Winthrop's Letter to Mr. Endicott, about Roger Williams, dated January 3, 1633-34, in *Mass. Hist. Soc.'s Proceedings*

Mr. Williams appeared at the next court, and apologized for this treatise, saying that it was intended only for private use; and gave the court "satisfaction of his intention and loyalty." And so the matter was dropped.*

But Roger Williams was not a man who could long conceal his sentiments or refrain from expressing them; consequently, we find him again before the governor and assistants, in April, 1635, charged with having taught publicly that "a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain." He was heard at length on this charge, "before all the ministers," and, as Winthrop records, "very fully confuted," though evidently not converted; †

for 1873, pp. 343-45. In this long letter, the governor gives the texts, omitted in his journal, and describes the way Williams applied them to King Charles, and presents summarily his own views and those of the court and the ministers on the several charges.

In regard to this last charge, the reader will find Dr. Charles Deane's comments quite exhaustive and very satisfactory, in *The Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., ut sup.*, pp. 341-58.

* *Winthrop*, i, 122. Dr. Dexter, in his recent monograph, *As to Roger Williams and His Banishment from the Massachusetts Plantation*, maintains, against Knowles and others, that the Rev. Roger Williams was never a freeman of Massachusetts, having neglected to take the required oath; but that another Roger Williams, of Dorchester, was the freeman.—Pp. 28-9, and note 110; *Knowles' Mem. R. Williams*, 49.

† *Winthrop's Jour.*, i, 157-8.

for, on the 8th of July following, Williams was summoned before the General Court, charged with "divers dangerous opinions, viz.: 1st, That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace. 2d, That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man. 3d, That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, etc. 4th, That a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meat, etc."

There was much debate over these positions, between Mr. Williams and the magistrates and the ministers who were desired to be present; and the positions were pronounced "erroneous and very dangerous." And the calling him to office while entertaining such sentiments, and against the remonstrance of the court, was "judged" a great contempt of authority "on the part of the church in Salem.*" But the court decided to give Mr. Williams and the church time to consider their doings until the next session of the court. This delay, however, had no effect on Mr. Williams, other than to confirm him in his opinions; and being unable through sickness to speak to his people, he wrote to them, some time in August, "a protestation, that he could not communicate with the churches in the Bay, neither would he communicate with them [the Salem church] except they would refuse communion with the rest"

* *Winthrop*, 1, 162-3.

—a protestation which, according to Winthrop, grieved the whole church.* Thus matters stood until the session of the General Court, October 8, 1635, when Mr. Williams was again convened, and all the ministers of the Bay were desired to be present. He was then charged with having written two letters, one to the churches, "complaining of the magistrates for injustice, extreme oppression, etc., and the other to his own church, to persuade them to renounce communion with all the churches of the Bay as full of antichristian pollution, etc." Instead of yielding and apologizing, Mr. Williams "justified both these letters and maintained all his opinions." He declined a month's respite to reflect further on the subject, and "chose to dispute presently;" and so Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but "could not reduce him from any of his errors." The next morning, October 9, the court sentenced him to depart out of the jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers save one, probably Mr. Cotton, approving the sentence.

On his return to Salem, Mr. Williams refused communion with his own church, who openly disclaimed his opinions and called him to account for the same.†

The sentence of the court against Mr. Williams was subsequently modified, so as to allow him to remain in the colony until spring, on condition

* *Winthrop*, 1, 166; *Dexter*, 48-51.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 170-1.

that he should not attempt "to draw others to his opinions." But in January, the governor and assistants met at Boston, having learned that Mr. Williams was holding meetings at his own house, and preaching to the people on the points in regard to which he was at issue with the government and with the other ministers and churches of the colony; and that he had already drawn about twenty persons over to him, with whom he proposed to emigrate to the Narragansett country and establish a plantation, "from whence the infection would easily spread into these churches." A warrant was therefore immediately sent to him, to come presently to Boston, to be shipped to England in a vessel about to sail. He returned answer, that he could not comply with the summons without hazard to his life, being too ill to travel. But the marshal who served the warrant reported to the magistrates that he conversed with Mr. Williams and "discerned no signe of sicknesse upon him." A pinnace was therefore despatched at once from Boston, with orders for his arrest, and that he be taken directly to the outward bound ship, which then rode at Nantasket. But Mr. Williams, being apprised seasonably, by ex-Governor Winthrop, of this action of the government, left Salem three days before the pinnace arrived — about the middle of January, 1635-6 — and made his way, agreeably to Winthrop's advice, towards Narragansett Bay. He finally reached Seekonk, now Rehoboth, just on

the western borders of Plymouth Colony, a few miles from the banks of what is now known as Providence river. Here, having secured a tract of land from the natives, he immediately commenced a settlement with five or six of his followers.*

But he left behind him a number of disciples, "especially of devout women" (eight women and three men, Winthrop says), who made the Salem church a good deal of trouble, threatening to separate from that body and establish another church, because the church would not censure several of their members, who, being in England on business, went to hear ministers of the English Church.†

Mr. Williams had not been long in Seekonk — having, however, begun to build and plant there — when, he says, "I received a letter from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, then governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others' love and respect for me," yet "lovingly advising me,

* *Knowles' Life of R. Williams*, 74. See also Mr. Williams' letter to Major Mason in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 1, — and in the Appendix C, of *Knowles' Life of Roger Williams*. Boston: 1834, 12mo, 437 pp.

Mr. Haynes was governor of the colony at that time, and Dudley was his immediate predecessor. Winthrop had lost public favor temporarily, because he was scarcely stern enough for those troublous times. Mr. Williams was accompanied by at least four companions: William Harris, John Smith, Francis Wickes, and a lad of Richard Waterman's. — *Dexter's Monograph, As to Roger Williams*, notes 217, 245.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 175-6, 185-6; *Felt*, 1, 257.

since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loth to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water; and then, he said I had the country free before me, and I might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbors together." * Mr. Williams followed Mr. Winslow's advice, though he lost his harvest that year by moving. He, however, secured the firm friendship of the Plymouth Colony by so doing, as this same letter shows. He removed in June, 1636, to a place which he named "Providence," in token of his gratitude to God for bringing him safely through his many troubles and exposures to a place of rest and comfort.

No single act of the Massachusetts Puritans has brought so much reproach on them and their descendants as this banishment of Roger Williams. All the enemies of the Colony, and all who for any cause had imbibed prejudices against its rulers or their religious principles, very joyfully laid hold on this act, to justify their enmity or prejudice. Then again, the historians of Rhode Island generally have felt it to be incumbent on them to disparage the men who unwittingly gave them their honored founder. And worse than all, the great Baptist denomination have strangely

* R. Williams' letter to Major Mason, dated Providence, June 22, 1670, in *Knowles' Life of R. Williams*, 394-5.

enough identified themselves with Roger Williams, and have consequently felt it to be their duty to depreciate the Congregational rulers of the Bay State, in contrast with the man whom they would honor as their great progenitor in America. And this, too, though Roger Williams was not banished for being a Baptist, never professed to be a Baptist until some three years after his banishment, and even then was so little satisfied with his change of opinions that he speedily renounced his new views, together with all church organizations and all outward religious ordinances, and became a "Seeker"—a man ignorant of the truth, and yet anxious to find it—in regard to church organizations and religious rites and ordinances.

Since, then, it has become the popular course to praise the banished one at the expense of those who banished him, it becomes a matter of interest to every Congregationalist especially, to know what ground there really is for the praise of one and the denunciation of the other party in this controversy.

First, let us look at the original, official edict of the General Court of Massachusetts. It was as follows: "Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and dyvulged dyvers newe and dangerous opinions, against the aucthoritie of magistrates, as also writt [letters] of defamacon, both

of the magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviccon, and yet mainetaineth the same without retraccon, it is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall depth out of this jurisdiccon within sixe weekes nowe nexte ensuing, w^{ch} if hee neglect to p^{forme}, it shall be lawfull for the G^{our} and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiccon, not to returne any more without licence from the Court.” *

The Governor, in pronouncing this sentence formally on Mr. Williams, specified distinctly some of the more “dangerous opinions” maintained and promulgated by him, in disregard of of all remonstrance and argument and persuasion. They were, “*First*, That we have not our Land by Pattent from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Pattent. *Secondly*, That it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to Sweare, to Pray, as being actions of God’s worship. *Thirdly*, That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England. *Fourthly*, That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies and Goods and outward State of men, etc.”—concluding with the words of the Apostle, Rom. xvi: 17: “Now I beseech you, brethren, marke them which cause diuisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine ye have learned; and auoyd them.”

* *Mass. Col. Records*, 1, 160, in *Dexter’s Monograph*, 59.

This is Mr. Williams' own account of the address of Governor Haynes to him when pronouncing sentence, and is no doubt substantially true.* But, as we learn from Mr. Cotton — who knew as much as any man then living about the views and feelings of the Court on this disturbing subject — none of these opinions would have banished Mr. Williams from Massachusetts, had he not been violent and revolutionary in his promulgation of them.

Mr. Cotton says that there were many persons in the plantation who were known to hold these opinions — that it is not lawful to hear the ministers of the parish assemblies in England, and that the civil magistrate's power extendeth only to the bodies and goods and outward estates of men — “and yet, they are tolerated not onely to live in the common-wealth, but also in the fellowship of the churches.” And as for the opinion “that we have not our land merely by right of patent from the king, but that the natives are the true owners of all they possese or improve” — Cotton says it was the common belief of the people: “Neither doe I knowe any amongst us, that either then were, or now are, of another minde.”†

And even as to the strange opinion “that it is

* See *Dexter's Monograph*, 59, 66.

† In *Dexter's Monograph*, 67. And it is notorious that the government and colonists acted on this belief, and bought their lands of the natives, when any appeared to claim the land; and sometimes paid for them more than once, to different claimants.

not lawfull to call a wicked Person to sweare or pray," Mr. Cotton says, "though that be not commonly held, yet it is knowne to be held of some, who yet are tolerated to enjoy both civill and church-liberties amongst us."

Cotton then assigns the true reasons why Mr. Williams was banished: "1st, His violent and tumultuous carriage against the Patent. 2d, His vehement opposition to the Oath of Fidelitie offered to the people by order of the General Court, at a critical time when the country was believed to be in great danger of some Episcopall and malignant practices against the country. . . . This oath, when it came abroad, he vehemently withstood, and dissuaded sundry from it." To these principal reasons for banishing Mr. Williams are added: his "heady and violent spirit," in his letters of admonition to the churches—to discipline the magistrates belonging to them, for an act of the General Court which displeased him and the Salem church; his subsequent renunciation of his own church, because they refused to follow him implicitly; and his separation from them, and from all the other churches in the colony; together with the establishment of preaching services in his own house.*

From all this we must conclude that Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts, not for his opinions merely—objectionable and dangerous

* See *Dexter's Monog.*, 67-69.

as some of them manifestly were—but for his vehement, revolutionary and seditious way of urging those opinions on others, against the persuasions and arguments and remonstrances of the leading, influential men of the plantation, including nearly or quite all the ministers and magistrates. It was not because he differed from these in sentiment, but because he must not only proclaim these differences, but must so declaim against all who could not agree with him as to disturb the peace and threaten the very life of the infant colony.

But to return to the history of Rhode Island. Notwithstanding the peculiar notions entertained by Mr. Williams, he seems to have established at once religious worship in his little plantation. Indeed, we learn from an incidental notice in Winthrop's Journal, that Mr. Williams maintained public social worship, not only on the Sabbath, but on "week days," and somewhat frequently too; for there is on record the complaint against one Verin, of Providence, for not allowing his wife to go to meetings as often as she was called for.* But, so far as is known, there was no formal organization of a church in Providence until March, 1638-9; nearly three years after the first settlement of the place. A Baptist church was then formed by Mr. Williams and eleven others—

* *Winthrop*, 1, 293.

the first of the kind in America. The order of procedure was as follows: Ezekiel Holyman, or Holman, "late of Salem," first immersed Mr. Williams, and he then immersed Mr. Holyman and "some ten more."*

What the particular order of this church was, we are not informed; nor whether they had any written confession of faith or covenant. But we may presume that it was essentially Congregational, or rather Independent, in its polity, and that it did not differ materially in its doctrinal belief from the other churches of New England, except in regard to the mode and subjects of baptism. The government of Providence colony was certainly democratical from the first, and it is not likely that the polity of the first church was otherwise. Winthrop tells us that at their first coming [to Providence] Mr. Williams and the rest did make an order, "that no man should be molested for his conscience."† But every inhabitant was required to subscribe to the following covenant: "We whose names are here underwritten, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves, in active and passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for the public good, of the body, in an orderly way, by the major consent of

* Winthrop, under date.

† Knowles' *Life of Roger Williams*, 120; Arnold's *Hist. Rhode Island*, I, 102.

the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together in a township, and such others whom they shall admit unto the same, *only in civil things.*"

In accordance with the spirit of this covenant, the new church was undoubtedly constituted. In doctrine, the church was Calvinistic at first, but after a while verged into Arminianism, and so continued for many years; yet afterwards, it began gradually to return to Calvinism again, until about the year 1737, when "very little of the Arminian leaven could be found among them."*

Mr. Williams remained in fellowship with this church but three or four months. Probably about July, 1639, he with three others left the church and renounced its baptism and ministry, averring that the true church and ministry were lost, and that the people of God must wait until God raised up a new apostolic power, authorized to preach the gospel and administer the ordinances, and thus restore the true church to the world again.† After this Mr. Williams became irregular in regard to public worship, sometimes neglecting it, at others upholding it, "but not weekly."‡ And there certainly could have been no great zeal for public worship among the Providence people

* *Benedict's Hist. of the Baptists*, 1, 486-7; *Knowles*, 176.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 307; *Callender's Century Sermon*, p. 110, in *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, 17.

‡ *Ib.*, 111.

generally; for no meeting-house was built by them until about the year 1700, more than sixty years after the organization of a church there. And as early as 1653 or 1654, the church was so divided in opinion on what seems to us an immaterial question — whether hands should be laid on the heads of newly baptized people — that a separation took place, and another church was formed.*

But though there were disturbances of various kinds at Providence, adapted to embarrass and retard the growth of the settlement, it nevertheless did grow in numbers and strength, and importance and reputation too. And according to Governor Hopkins, "the church had from its beginning kept itself in repute and maintained its discipline, so as to avoid scandal and schism." †

In regard to this whole controverted and irritating subject, we have only to say further, in conclusion, that it is not necessary for a sincere Congregationalist to justify or defend all the doings of the Massachusetts authorities. But this much ought to be said about this matter: First, that the leading men of this colony cherished no personal unkindness towards Mr. Williams.‡ He had even the love of some of the

* *Callender*, 114.

† This was said in 1765; and is the more valuable testimony, because it is that of a Quaker. — *Hist. Coll.*, 2d series, vol. ix, 197; *Knowles*, 176, note.

‡ And Mr. Williams seems to have cherished kindly feelings

best of them, from first to last; and he was a man capable of winning and retaining love to an unusual degree. Secondly, that he was a source of trouble and disturbance to the colony from the day he entered it to the time he left it. He dissented from the churches and magistrates in sundry particulars regarded by them as important; and not only resolutely insisted on holding his own views, but on actively promulgating them, regardless of the views and feelings and prejudices of his brethren, and even at the manifest hazard of the public unity and peace. And if most of his peculiar views related to non-essentials—as has been said in his justification—there was the less excuse for insisting on them, under the circumstances. Yet they were pressed as though they had been all-essentials, as Mr. Williams evidently regarded them. And then, his whole tone and temper in managing the disputes greatly disturbed and alarmed the authorities in Church and State. For, notwithstanding his “integrity and good intentions,” he was “passionate and precipitate,” as a good friend of his wrote to Winthrop; and utterly refused all counsel and

towards the Massachusetts authorities, though he regarded their treatment of him as very severe. In a letter addressed “To my honrd kind frjend Mr. John Winthrop Gov^r of Conecticot etc.” dated “Aug. 19, 1660 (so called)” he says: “Sr, since I see you I read Morton’s Memorialls, and reejoice at y^e encomiums upon y^{or} father and other precious worthies, though I be a reprobate, *contemptâ vitior algâ*.” — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 1, 5th series, pp. 414–15.

entreaty to modify his views, or to refrain from the propagation of them.* Thirdly, he insisted on doing thus at a time when there was great jealousy of the Massachusetts Colony in England, and many charges lay against the rulers. Dudley tells the Countess of Lincoln, in his celebrated letter, dated March 12, 1630-31: "To increase the heap of our sorrows, we received advertisement by letters from our friends in England, and by the reports of those who came hither in this ship [the *Lion*, which brought Mr. Williams] to abide with us—who were about twenty-six—that they who went discontentedly from us the last year, have raised many false reports against us, affirming us to be Brownists in religion, and ill affected to our State at home, and that these vile reports have won credit with some who formerly wished us well. But we do desire, and cannot but hope . . . that our godly friends to whom we have been known will not easily believe that we are so soon turned from the profession we

* Sir William Marsham wrote to Governor Winthrop, March 29, 1636: "I am sorry to hear of Mr. Williams' separation from you. His former good affections towards you and the plantations were well known unto us, and make us wonder at his proceedings. I have written to him effectually to submit to better judgments, and especiall to those whom formerly he revered and admired; at least, to keep the bounds of peace inviolable. . . . He is passionate and precipitate, which may transport him into error; but his integrity and good intentions will bring him at last into the way of truth and confirmation therein. . . ."—In *Felt's Ecc. Hist. N. E.*, 1, 248.

so long have made in our native Country. And for our further clearing, I truly affirm, that I know no one person who came over with us the last year, to be altered in judgment and affection either in ecclesiastical or civil respects, since our coming hither. But we do continue to pray daily, for our sovereign lord, the King, the Queen, the Prince, the royal blood, the Council and whole State, as duty binds us to do, and reason persuades others to believe." *

Gorges and Mason, Morton and Gardiner were at this very time busy and determined in their hostility towards the Puritan colonists, and were ready to make the most of every indication of a want of fidelity towards the crown, or any leaning towards Brownism, and consequently any hostility against the Church of England. And thus the whole noble enterprise which these good men of Massachusetts had undertaken was brought into imminent danger. It was therefore natural, yea, unavoidable, that the ruling authorities of the colony should be very sensitive, and even alarmed, at the propagation of sentiments, some of which were identical with those previously announced by Robert Browne, and the utterance of opinions regarding both James and Charles, which implied anything but a respectful regard for them as English sovereigns.

The position of the Puritans of Massachusetts

* *Young's Chron. Mass.*, 331.

Bay was from the first a very critical one, which required all their wisdom and grace and patience to maintain. On leaving England they had openly proclaimed their loyalty to the crown and their filial regard for the Church of England; and though they began almost immediately on reaching New England to assume a measure of ecclesiastical independence which exposed them to the charge of Brownism, yet they themselves were scarcely conscious of any such tendencies; justifying their deviations from canonical rules in the organization of their churches, on the ground of necessity, arising from their peculiar position as exiles in a wilderness, obliged to lay anew the foundations of Church and State. And as to their loyalty, it scarcely entered their heads to be anything but loyal to their sovereign, the king of England; though a shrewd fellow like Lechford could see plainly enough that these colonists were early verging from their old status in England towards independency in State and Church. They, however, were by no means ready to admit this; feeling assured that they had thrown off nothing which was essential to the Church of England; and that their loyalty to the crown was unaltered, whatever might be their feelings towards the man who wore the crown. Yet it was very difficult to maintain the consistency of their opinions and their actions, as they doubtless felt. To have, therefore, a man come among them, learned, influential and popular, and openly and perseveringly

avow and propagate revolutionary sentiments — sentiments adapted to confirm the evil reports already in circulation about the colony, was indeed to the last degree vexatious; and no man should wonder that, after exhausting all other means to stop the innovator and troubler of the State and Church, they should banish him from the colony.* Had he been suffered to remain and propagate his sentiments, Mr. Williams would have implicated the whole colony. The authorities would have been held responsible for what he taught unrebuked; and would at once have been involved in trouble, serious, if not ruinous to the whole enterprise. At least, so our ancient rulers honestly believed and deeply felt. And so believing and feeling, they reluctantly did what they deemed indispensable to the welfare of the infant churches and commonwealth — they sent the radical, uncompromising and unreasonable young man out of the colony; that they might not be compromised by his indiscretions.

* In Dr. Dexter's monograph — *As to Roger Williams and his Banishment* — this whole subject has received most thorough, exhaustive treatment, settling the question forever, it would seem — that it was not Mr. Williams' views on toleration and religious freedom which banished him; but the very reverse of these — his spirit of separation from all who dissented from him; his denunciation of the churches and the magistrates of the colony; and generally his turbulent and disloyal conduct. But this matter may be further considered in a subsequent chapter, on the Persecution of the Quakers and Anabaptists.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANTINOMIAN OR HUTCHINSONIAN CONTROVERSY—THE FIRST SYNOD IN NEW ENGLAND, 1637 — PREVAILING ERRORS CON- DEMNED.

WHILE Roger Williams and his friends were laying the foundations of Providence Plantation, important events were transpiring in Massachusetts. A religious controversy of almost unexampled violence, mixed with much personal bitterness, was raging here, which had an important bearing on the early settlement and subsequent growth of Providence and of Rhode Island. This controversy is generally known as the Antinomian or Hutchinsonian Controversy. It involved not only the religious but the civil and social interests of the colonists, and seriously threatened even general anarchy and bloodshed among them. This terrible controversy broke out soon after the arrival at Boston of the celebrated Sir Henry Vane, in 1635, and followed the immense immigration of that year, which amounted to nearly three thousand persons.* The leader and originator of this contest was Mrs.

* "Whose number was near about three thousand." — *Johnson, W. W. Prov.*, chap. xxxviii, p. 87, original edition.

"As soon as Mr. Vane and ourselves came, this controversy began." — Hugh Peters, in *Hutchinson's Hist.*, II, 428.

Anne Hutchinson, wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, "a very honest, peaceable man, of good estate," who arrived in Boston, September, 1634. Mrs. Hutchinson is described by the historian Hubbard as "a gentlewoman of nimble wit, voluble tongue, eminent knowledge in the Scriptures, of great charity and notable helpfulness, especially in such occasions where those of that sex stand in need of the mutual help of each other." * Johnson calls her "the master-piece of woman's wit." † She had some difficulty, on her first arrival, in getting into the Boston church, arising from a suspicion that she was not entirely orthodox. ‡ She was finally admitted, however, November 2, 1634, and soon succeeded in greatly ingratiating herself with the good people of Boston by her helpfulness, ready wit, insinuating manners and demonstrative sanctity, though she is described by one who knew her well as "a woman of a haughty spirit and fierce carriage; of a nimble wit and active spirit; a very voluble tongue; more bold than a man, though in understanding and judgement, inferior to many women." §

* *General History*, 283.

† *Wonderworking Providence*, p. 100.

‡ The pastor of the church, Rev. Mr. Wilson, says that "there was some difficulty made concerning her entrance into the church; but in her answers, she gave full satisfaction to our teacher [Mr. Cotton] and myself; and, for evidencing justification by sanctification, she did not deny, but only justification must be first." — *Hutchinson's Hist.*, II, 430.

§ *A Short Story of the Rise, Reigne, and Ruine of the Antino-*

She began her public career by manifestations of great devoutness, opening her house for religious meetings twice a week — once for men and women, and again for women alone ; in which last, she repeated the substance of Mr. Cotton's sermons, making her own comments and explanations as she proceeded. These meetings soon became quite the fashion — a veritable " Boston notion " — a large number of women, fifty, sixty, and even eighty attending them. Here Mrs. Hutchinson gradually developed certain ideas which allied her to the Antinomians of Germany, the Familists of England, and the Quakers. One of the most dangerous of these was, " that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person ; " another, " that no sanctification can help to evidence our justification ; " and from these two general positions grew many branches, one of which was, that

mians, Familists, and Libertines that Infected the Churches of New England. With an explanatory preface by Rev. Thomas Welde of Roxbury. Small quarto, pp. 66. London, 1644. The author's name is not given, though it has been ascribed to Governor Winthrop. Mr. Savage attributes it to Mr. Welde (Winthrop, i, 238). But Welde could not have been its author, unless he wilfully deceives, or lies directly, in his preface. There can be little doubt that Winthrop wrote the *Short Story*. Baylie, in his *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, London, 1642, repeatedly refers to the *Short Story* as the work of Governor Winthrop, with a preface by " Mr. Wells " [Welde]. And Cotton, in his reply to Baylie, quotes this reference without contradicting it, and thus in fact endorses its correctness. — See *Dissuasive*, pp. 57, 64, etc., etc., compared with *The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared*, London, 1648, pp. 56, 57, etc.

"our union with the Holy Ghost [was] so, as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces other than such as are in hypocrites; nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost." These and like utterances were pretty well adapted to alarm the ministers and magistrates of the colony, and they did this most thoroughly.

Mrs. Hutchinson seems to have come to this country with the expectation of becoming a witness, and in some sort a martyr to the truth. In England she was troubled that the churches and ministers "did not hold Christ aright." And after her teacher, Mr. Cotton, and her brother, Mr. Wheelwright, were silenced, she thought that there were no ministers in England fit for her to hear. "After twelve months' prayer," she says, "I saw how I had trusted in a covenant of works. . . . After this, the Lord carrying Mr. Cotton to New England, it was revealed to me that I must go thither also, and be persecuted, and suffer much trouble."* Coming hither thus impressed, it was not long before she was able to realize her anticipations. She believed herself to be a sort of prophetess, to whom the purposes of Heaven were often revealed by inward impressions, which were as worthy of credit as the inspired word of

* *Winthrop*, 1, 246; *Short Story*, 37-38; *Felt*, 1, 261. See also "*The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court of Newton*," in *Hutchinson's Hist.*, 11, Appendix, No. 11.

God. At her weekly "exercises" she improved her opportunities so adroitly, that in a short time nearly the whole Boston church, men as well as women, became her disciples; and even Mr. Cotton, a guileless, unsuspicious man, was made to countenance her exceptionable and fanatical notions. Mr. Vane, who was chosen governor in 1636, became an enthusiastic recipient and defender of her views, and even went beyond her in some things.* The Rev. John Wheelwright, who came to this country in June, 1636, a man of ability and many excellences of character, greatly contributed to swell the tide in Mrs. Hutchinson's favor. But Mr. Wilson, the pastor of the Boston church, and Governor Winthrop resolutely opposed her, at the hazard of their own standing. So unpopular was Mr. Wilson at one time, that when he went into his own pulpit, half

* Hugh Peters, who had little fear of man, told Governor Vane to his face, plainly, but with all due reverence, "that before he came, the churches were in peace;" and besought him humbly to consider his youth and inexperience in the things of God; and to beware of peremptory conclusions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto," etc., etc.—*Winthrop*, 1, 200. And at the examination of Mrs. Hutchinson before the Court, in November, 1637, he told Mr. Cotton that he thought what he said in defence of Mrs. H. was "very disputable;" and Mr. Dudley, Mr. Endicott, Mr. Nowell, and Mr. Collicot, all spoke pretty plainly to Mr. Cotton, and during a part of the time, he was so questioned by them that one might have thought he was on trial; and so sharply that the Governor had finally to remind the Court that Mr. Cotton "was not called to answer anything."—*Hutchinson*, 11, 441-44.

of the congregation would leave the house. And the governor was no less unpopular for the same reason. The neighboring churches were also more or less taken with Mrs. Hutchinson's strange and dangerous notions; though the ministers, with few exceptions, kept clear of them. That eminent saint and celebrated preacher, Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, in his autobiography, thus writes, under date of May 25, 1636: "No sooner were we thus set down and entered into church fellowship, but the Lord exercised us and the whole country with the opinions of the Familists, begun by Mrs. Hutchinson, raised up to a great height by Mr. Vane—too suddenly chosen governor—and maintained too obscurely by Mr. Cotton, and propagated too boldly by numbers in Boston, and some in other churches. . . . The principal opinion and seed of all the rest," he says, was, that a Christian has evidence of grace only by "immediate revelation, in an absolute promise." "I count it no small mercy to myself," he adds, "that the Lord kept me from that contagion, . . . although I found it a most uncomfortable time to live in contention." * Shepard was a most determined opponent of these Antinomian and Familist notions and doctrines, was active in calling the synod to consider them, and earnest in exposing

* See Johnson's account of the disturbed state of things in New England in the "dismall yeare of sixteen hundred thirty-six"—*W. W. Prov.*, chap. xxix-xliii; also *Welde's Preface to the Short Story*; and *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 546.

their dangerous tendency. He declared these opinions to be "mere fig leaves, to cover some distempers and lusts lurking in men's hearts;" and the propagators of them he denounced as "the scourges of the land, and the most subtle enemies of the power of godliness." In his famous discourses on the Parable of the Ten Virgins, first preached to his own people during the prevalence of this Hutchinsonian mania, and afterwards published, he ruthlessly tore off the fig-leaf covering from distempered hearts, and exposed the dangerous subtleties which were deluding so many sincere Christians even. He thus effectually beat back the tide of error from his own parish, and saved his people from contamination.*

"The governor, Mr. Vane, a wise and godly gentleman," as Winthrop charitably calls him, "held with Mr. Cotton and many others, the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost in a believer; and went so far beyond the rest, as to maintain a personal union with the Holy Ghost."† "Other opinions brake out publicly in the church of Boston: as, that the Holy Ghost dwelt in a believer as he is in heaven, that a man is justified before he believes, and that faith is no cause of justification. And others spread more secretly: as, that the letter of the Scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works, and that the

* *The Life of Thomas Shepard*, by John A. Albro, 193-206.

† *Winthrop* 1, 206.

covenant of grace was the spirit of Scripture which was known only to believers, and that this covenant of works was given to Moses in the Ten Commandments; that there was a seed (*viz.*, Abraham's carnal seed) went along in this, and there was a spirit and life in it by virtue whereof a man might attain to any sanctification in gifts and graces, and might have spiritual [or special] and [continued] communion with Jesus Christ, and yet be damned. After, it was granted that faith was before justification, but was only passive — an empty vessel, etc.; but, in conclusion, the ground of all was found to be, assurance by immediate revelation!"*

Volumes have been written on this controversy, but Winthrop's statements, after all, are about as comprehensive, satisfactory and complete as anything that can be found. He was not only a contemporary, but was personally conversant with Mrs. Hutchinson and all the leaders in this controversy; was thoroughly acquainted with their views, and was, withal, as moderate, honest and impartial a man as the age afforded, though a very decided and earnest opponent of the new doctrines.

But the abstract, speculative notions of these enthusiasts, bad as they were, were less dangerous to society than the inferences drawn from them, and the practical applications made of them by

* *Ib.*, 1, 211.

many of their recipients. All who embraced these opinions were accounted "believers" and "gracious persons," and they alone; while all who rejected them were denounced as "legalists," under "a covenant of works."* The partisan spirit at length ran so high that old friends and neighbors were alienated, and every effort at discussion and settlement seemed only to aggravate the evils. Members of the Boston church—all but four or five of whom had embraced these opinions—"frequenting the lectures of other ministers, did make much disturbance, by public questions, and objections to their doctrines which did in any way disagree from their opinions; and it began to be as common here to distinguish between men, by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between Protestants and Papists."†

It was this spirit of alienation and opposition towards those who rejected Hutchinsonianism which influenced Governor Vane, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wheelwright, and the Boston church generally, to absent themselves from the ordination services at Concord, on the 6th of April, 1637; though a different reason was assigned by the

* *Welde says (Preface to Short Story, 111) that they reproached by name the officers of the churches which did not agree with them, saying: "Such a church officer is an ignorant man, and knows not Christ; such an one is under a covenant of works; such a pastor is a proud man, and would make a good persecutor; such a teacher is grossly Popish."*

† *Winthrop, 1, 213-14.*

Governor and Deputy at the time.* This partisan spirit appeared in the politics of the colony, as well as in its church affairs. The Rev. Mr. Wheelwright took occasion on a Fast day, appointed with the hope of calming men's passions and reconciling alienated brethren, to speak disparagingly of "all who walked in a covenant of works, as he described it to be; viz.: such as maintained sanctification as an evidence of justification, etc.; and called them antichrists, and stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency." For this discourse he was called to account, and adjudged "guilty of sedition and also of contempt, for that the Court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, etc., and he purposely set himself to kindle and increase them." Against this judgment Governor Vane and a few others protested; and the church at Boston also remonstrated, justifying Mr. Wheelwright; and so much heat and contention was raised by this means that it was moved that the next court be held at Newtown, to avoid the influence of Boston.† And so it was. Yet a stormy time was experienced even there. It was election day; but it was not until a late hour in the day that the elections could be made. The Anti-Hutchinsonians

* *Winthrop*, 1, 189, 217; *Life of Mrs. Hutchinson*, by Dr. George E. Ellis, in *Sparks' American Biography*, vi, 238.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 215-16.

finally prevailed, and Winthrop was returned governor, in Vane's place; and Coddington and Dummer, two of the assistants who were among the new lights, were dropped. Winthrop tells us (I, 220) that "there was great danger of a tumult that day; for those of that side [Mrs. Hutchinson's friends] grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others;" but happily all serious collisions were avoided.

There followed next "divers writings about these differences." "The magistrates set forth an apology, to justify the sentence against Mr. Wheelwright." His friends "set forth a remonstrance," in which, however, they were accused of altering both the words and meaning of passages in Mr. Wheelwright's obnoxious fast-day sermons; and Mr. Wheelwright himself published a small tractate about the covenant of grace, which also differed from his sermon. Other ministers answered Wheelwright. Mr. Cotton replied at considerable length to the ministers, and Mr. Shepard, in his election sermon, replied to Mr. Cotton. The effect of this discussion between Cotton and Shepard, both men of humble and devout spirits, was, fortunately, rather to narrow the differences between them; for they finally agreed "that justification and sanctification were both together in time; that a man must know himself to be justified before he can know himself to be sanctified; and that the spirit never witnesseth justification without a word and a work." In this they agreed; but they

differed on the question "whether the first assurance be by an absolute promise always, and not by a conditional also; and whether a man could have true assurance without sight of some such in his soul as no hypocrite could attain unto?" *

At the next meeting of the court, some time in May, Mr. Wheelwright was called again and appeared. But in consideration that another day of fasting had been appointed, and that a meeting of the churches had been agreed upon to consider this exciting question, the court proposed to give him respite until its next session, on the first Tuesday in August. Mr. Wheelwright declined the offer of the court, saying, "he could retract nothing;" "if he had committed treason, then he ought to be put to death;" but if they proceeded against him, he should appeal to the King's Court.† This, of course, was offensive to the General Court; nevertheless, sentence was deferred.

* *Winthrop*, 1, 221-3.

† Winthrop seems to have entertained a kindly regard for Wheelwright. But when it was proposed to call him as an associate with Cotton and Wilson in the Boston church, "one of the church [undoubtedly Winthrop] stood up and said he could not consent, etc. . . . for though he thought reverently of his godliness and abilities, so as he could be content to live under such a ministry; yet, seeing he was apt to raise doubtful disputations, he could not consent to choose him to that place;" and instanced two statements which he had made in a recent discourse: "1st, that a believer was more than a creature, and 2d, that the person of the Holy Ghost and a believer were united."—*Winthrop's Jour.*, 1, 202. Vane also used substantially the same language as Wheelwright. — *Ib.*, 206.

The alienation and hostility of the two parties was rather increased than diminished by all these proceedings and discussions. Mr. Vane and Mr. Coddington refused to occupy their accustomed seats in the public assemblies among the magistrates, and Mr. Vane even declined the personal civilities of Winthrop, refusing an invitation to dine at the governor's table with Lord Say, then in Boston, "alleging, by letter, that his conscience withheld him." And not content with this discourtesy to the governor, Vane actually interfered to prevent Lord Say from going to the governor's by taking him to Noddle's island, to dine with Mr. Maverick on the same day.*

The governor's refusal, about this time, to allow a brother of Mrs. Hutchinson, and some of Mr. Wheelwright's friends, who arrived in July, 1637, "to settle in the colony without some trial of them," still further exasperated party feeling and produced "many hot speeches." †

THE FIRST SYNOD OR CONVENTION.

As a last resort, in this time of contention and alienation and extreme danger, it was decided, after some hesitation, to call a General Council or Synod, or, strictly speaking, a Convention of the New England ministers. And on the 30th of August, 1637, all the "teaching elders" in the country, about twenty-five in number, and several

* *Winthrop*, 1, 224, 232.

† *Id.*, 232-3.

others who had recently come out of England and were without pastoral charges, met at Cambridge, to consider the abounding errors and evils of the times and to suggest a remedy.

A committee had carefully prepared beforehand a programme for the Synod, so that it was able to proceed at once to business. The Rev. Mr. Buckley of Concord, and the Rev. Mr. Hooker of Hartford, Connecticut, were chosen moderators, and Rev. John Higginson of Saybrook, scribe.*

The opening prayer was offered by the Rev. Thomas Shepard, and seems to have been one to be remembered and felt by all who heard it. Then was presented a list of eighty-two erroneous opinions which were spread in the country; next were mentioned the unwholesome expressions which were common, nine in number; and finally, the Scriptures abused were named—*i. e.*, the texts perverted from their true sense in this controversy. The way was thus prepared for the Synod to proceed at once to business. The utmost

* Higginson recorded in short hand all the proceedings of this Synod or Convention, and afterwards prepared the record for the press, and presented it to the General Court in 1639. The court accepted it, and proposed to give him the profits of the publication for his labor, which they estimated at £100. But he was dissuaded from publishing, by some of the elders of the churches, lest it should increase disputes in the colonies and in England. Higginson therefore returned the manuscript to the court in 1641, against the judgment of the court and the wishes of the clergy generally. The court afterwards granted him a large lot of land, as a compensation for his work. — *Felt*, 1, 520-1.

freedom in debate was allowed, and it was agreed "that none should be charged to be of the opinion he disputed for, unless he should declare himself so to be." * The discussions were spirited, not to say heated. Calls were repeatedly made by the Hutchinsonians for the names of the persons who, it was said, held certain specified opinions, or had made certain objectionable expressions, or had perverted texts of Scripture. It was replied to these calls, that there was ample testimony that such opinions were held and such expressions had been used by different persons; but it was not thought fit to name the parties, because this assembly had not to do with persons, but doctrines only; it being the duty of the churches severally to deal with the persons who held these opinions.† This, however, did not satisfy Mrs. Hutchinson's friends, and they continued to insist on having the names of persons; and made so much disturbance in the assembly that the magistrates had finally to tell them, that if they refused to forbear at the request of the moderators, it would prove to be a disturbance of the peace, and they would be compelled to interfere as magistrates. Upon this, some of the Boston people left the assembly and came no more to it. The Synod then proceeded to condemn this whole list of errors, *seriatim*; some as

* *Short Story*, Pref., 1v; *Felt, Ecc. Hist. N. E.*, 1, 312.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 238.

blasphemous, others as erroneous, and all as unsafe. In these decisions all the elders agreed, with the single exception of Mr. Cotton, and set their names to the decisions of the Synod. The course pursued by them in thus coming to definite conclusions was this: the first week was spent in comparing the loose opinions which were prevalent in the country; the other two weeks, in syllogistic disputes on nine of the chief points of doctrine on which all the others depended. The forenoons were spent by the ministers and others in framing their arguments; in the afternoons these were read in public. The next day the Hutchinsonians replied to these, and presented their arguments. To these the ministers rejoined; and so on, to the end of the weeks.*

The care and thoroughness with which this work was done may be estimated by what has already been said, and by the fact that the Synod did not close its sessions and adjourn until the 2d of September, having been together twenty-three days, including Sabbaths.

Mr. Cotton seems to have agreed substantially with the other ministers in regard to most of the opinions and expressions condemned; but was not quite satisfied to sign the result of the council.† Five distinct points or questions were therefore

* *Winthrop*, 1, 237-9; *Short Story*, *Preface*.

† He says: "I declared my judgements openly before all the assembly, that I esteemed some of the opinions to be blasphemous, some of them heretical, many of them erroneous, and

afterwards considered, in which he agreed with Mr. Wheelwright and dissented from the Synod. The first was, "Whether our union with Christ be complete before and without faith?"

Cotton said, "Not before the habit, though without the act of faith. . . . Not before the gift of faith, though before the work of faith."

The ministers rejoined that we are not completely united to Christ by the habit of faith without the act; or by faith merely passive.

The second question was, "Whether faith be an instrumental cause of applying Christ's righteousness to our justification?"

Cotton said, faith "is an instrument to receive the righteousness of Christ applied to us of God for our justification; but not properly an instrumental cause." While the ministers insisted that faith is an instrumental cause in applying Christ's righteousness; and that faith is active and not merely passive herein.

The third question was, "Whether the Spirit of God in our justification doth bear witness in an absolute promise of free grace, without qualification or condition?"

almost all of them incommodiously expressed." — *Way of Chhs. Cleared*, p. 48.

In Sections 13 and 14 of his work Mr. Cotton very frankly admits that he was for a long time deceived by Mrs. Hutchinson and her partisans; but very completely defends himself against Baylie's charge of deliberate complicity with them in any of their errors. — Pp. 38-55.

Cotton said, the Spirit doth bear witness to our justification, either in an absolute promise or conditional, or applied absolutely, not attending the condition as the cause or ground of our assurance, but as the effect or consequence of it. While the other ministers agreed that the Spirit in evidencing our justification doth bear witness only in a conditional promise; *i. e.*, where some saving condition or qualification, wrought in us by the Spirit of Christ, is either expressed or understood:—expressed, Acts xiii, 39; understood, Isaiah xliii, 25.

The fourth point in debate was, “Whether some saving qualification may be a first evidence of justification?”

Cotton said: “A man may have an argument from thence, but not a first evidence.” But the ministers insisted that some saving qualification, wrought or discovered by the Spirit in the promise, may be a first evidence of our justification.

The fifth question was, “Whether Christ and His benefits be dispensed in a covenant of works?”

Cotton’s answer was: “Christ is dispensed to the elect in a covenant of grace; to others He may be dispensed in some sort—*viz.*, in a taste of Him—either in a covenant of works, or in a covenant of grace legally applied.”

But the ministers said, although Christ and His benefits may be revealed, offered, and after a sort exhibited to men that be under a covenant of works, yet they are not revealed and offered by a covenant of works.

These five questions were discussed for several days ; first, in written arguments, pro and con, and then orally; and for a wonder, this course finally reduced the differences between Cotton and the other ministers to three heads, and brought all of them except Mr. Wheelwright, if not to an absolute agreement, yet to a reconciliation; and to an engagement on Mr. Cotton's part to abstain from all expressions on these points likely to be offensive to his brethren.*

These doctrinal points having been determined, the Synod proceeded to consider some practical points; and agreed unanimously: 1st, that, though women might meet (some few together) to pray and edify one another, yet such assemblies as were then in vogue in Boston — where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman, in a prophetic way, by resolving questions of

* I have followed *Hubbard's* account of the discussions.

Mather says, "That albeit when the eighty-two errors were finally condemned in the Synod, Mr. Cotton did (without setting his hand to the condemnation) freely declare that he disrelished all those opinions and expressions, as being, some of them heretical, some of them blasphemous, some of them erroneous, and all of them incongruous. Nevertheless, there was a dark day in the Synod, wherein Mr. Cotton did, with the great Chamins, seem to assert that the habit of faith in us is the effect of our justification. And solemn speeches were made with tears, lamenting it, that they should in this important matter dissent from a person so venerable and considerable in the country." . . . — *Magnalia*, II, 444-5. By the "great Chamins" may be meant the learned Lutheran, Martin Chemnitz, who had a controversy with Osiander on the doctrine of Justification.

doctrine and expounding Scripture, took upon her the whole exercise — were disorderly and without rule. 2d, That though a private member might ask a question publicly, after sermon, for information, yet this ought to be very wisely and sparingly done, and that with leave of the elders. But questions such as were then common, whereby the doctrines delivered were reprov'd and the elders reproached, and that with bitterness too, were utterly unjustifiable. 3d, That a person refusing to come to the assembly, to abide the censure of the church, might be proceeded against though absent. Yet it was held better that the magistrate's help were called for, to compel him to be present. 4th, That a member differing from the rest of the church in any opinion which was not fundamental, ought not for that to forsake the ordinances there; and if such did desire dismissal to any other church which was of his opinion, and did it for that end, the church whereof he was, ought to deny his request for the same end.*

These decisions, it will be seen, struck at some of the most objectionable acts of the Antinomian party, and branded their habitual practices as irregular, disorderly, and unscriptural. And with these important decisions, the Synodists ended their work.

Governor Winthrop was so much pleased with

* *Winthrop*, I, 240.

this first ecclesiastical assembly* of all the New England ministers, that he proposed that a like meeting be held yearly, or at least the next year, to settle any points of difference which might yet remain or might arise. "This motion was well liked of all, but it was not thought fit to conclude it;" for the reason, no doubt, that there was much jealousy among the people, and even among some of the clergy, of anything like permanent ecclesiastical bodies, other than the churches. And even stated meetings of the clergy for personal improvement were at first objected to, as "bending towards presbyterian rule;" † so that, when "the ministers in the Bay and Saugus" did begin their bi-weekly meetings at each other's houses, in the autumn of 1633, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Williams, both of Salem, "took some exceptions against it, as fearing it might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency, to the prejudice of the other churches' liberties." ‡

Another proposal made by the governor — "That whereas there was difference among the churches about the maintenance of their ministers, it might be agreed what way was the most agreeable to the

* In accordance with the common parlance in speaking of this ecclesiastical assembly, I have styled it a Synod or General Council; but strictly speaking, it was not a Synod; for the churches were not represented. It was really a Convention of the clergy, with the governor and magistrates — a sort of Ecclesiastical General Court.

† *Lechford*, in *Felt*, 1, 431.

‡ *Winthrop*, 1, 116-17.

rule of the gospel"—was also declined, from motives of delicacy. "The elders did not like to deal in that," Winthrop says, "lest it should be said that this assembly was gathered for their private advantage." * This was certainly much to their credit, and illustrated well their sagacity and disinterestedness.

At the close of the meeting, the Rev. Mr. Davenport of New Haven preached from Philippians iii: 16—"Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing." In this discourse he declared "the effect and fruit of the assembly; and with much wisdom and sound argument persuaded to unity."

Thus closed this first great ecclesiastical assembly of New England. Winthrop tells us that the diet of the assembly was provided at the country's charge, as also the fetching and sending back of those which came from Connecticut. Liberty was given to the people at large to come into the meetings and hear, and "a place was appointed for all the Opinionists to come in and take liberty of speech (only due order observed) as much as any of ourselves had, and as freely." † The magistrates of the colony were not only present, but took an active part in the deliberations of the Synod; and Governor Winthrop's calm good sense, and eminent abilities as a magistrate and presiding

* *Winthrop*, 241.

† *Welde, Short Story, Pref.*, iv.

officer, often exercised in the assembly, though he was not one of the moderators, no doubt contributed largely to the harmonious results of this discussion. He evidently exerted "a controlling power" in the meetings; "silencing"—as a contemporary eye-witness writes—"impertinent and passionate speeches, as another Constantine; desiring the divine oracles might be heard to speak and express their own meaning; adjourning the assembly when he saw heat and passion; so that, through the blessing of God, the assembly is dissolved, and jarring and dissonant opinions, if not reconciled, yet are covered; and they who came together with minds exasperated, by this means depart in peace, and promise by mutual covenant that no difference of opinion shall alienate their affections any more, but they will refer doubts to be resolved by the great God, at that great day when we shall appear at His tribunal." *

* In *Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. Bay*, 1, 68-9. "This general agreement struck a damp upon the Opinionists, and gave further life and vigor to the other party."

Mr. Hooker at first disapproved of the Synod.—*Ib.*, 68.

CHAPTER X.

THE HUTCHINSONIANS BANISHED, DISFRANCHISED OR DISARMED
—MRS. HUTCHINSON DEALT WITH BY THE CHURCH—REMOVES
TO RHODE ISLAND—THE BOSTON CHURCH SEND MESSENGERS
TO HER AND OTHERS THERE—DEATH OF MRS. HUTCHINSON—
CHARACTER—PROGRESSIVE SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND—
CHURCHES THERE.

THE unanimous condemnation of Hutchinsonianism by the ministers of New England in convention assembled, had but little immediate effect on the leaders of that party. Mr. Wheelwright continued to preach his obnoxious sentiments, and Mrs. Hutchinson to maintain her social meetings, and she and others to manifest their contempt for Mr. Wilson, by leaving the public assemblies whenever he appeared in the pulpit; while some went so far as to withdraw entirely from all the ordinary services of the churches, unless conducted by some of their own party. And not only this, but in all the departments of civil and social life the separation and alienation between the Hutchinsonians and those who held to the old faith was beginning to work confusion and mischief. In this state of affairs, the magistrates at length decided that the strong arm of the civil power of the colony must be employed, and with promptness and energy too. Accordingly, at the

meeting of the General Court, October 2, 1637,* Mr. Wheelwright was again called and questioned, whether he would acknowledge his offence, or abide the sentence of the court? His answer was: that he had committed no sedition nor contempt; had preached nothing but the truth of Christ, and was not answerable for the application of his doctrine made by others. The court then told him that it was not his doctrine which they censured so much as his application, by which he had laid the magistrates and ministers, and most of the people of God in these churches, under a covenant of works; and thereupon had declared them to be enemies of Christ and Anti-Christ, and such enemies as Herod and Pilate, and the Scribes and Pharisees; persuading the people to look at them and deal with them as such. And as to the effect of the sermon and his declarations before and since, it has been to promote sedition; for, whereas before he broached his opinions there was peace and order in all the churches and in the State, now all things were turned upside down. In the church he who would not accept his doctrines, be he ever so godly, was condemned as unfit to be in the church. In families it had produced divisions, and alienations, and open contentions; and in public affairs it had caused

* So reads the detailed account of the proceedings of the court, in the *Short Story*, p. 21; but *Winthrop* gives a summary account of the proceedings under date of "the 2d of the 9th month" — November 2. — Vol. 1, p. 245.

great disturbance, as appeared in the late expedition against the Pequods; for, whereas in former expeditions the town of Boston had been as forward as any other town to send off their choicest members, and a greater number than other towns, in this last service they sent only a few men, and those of the most "refuse sort;" and that, in so careless a manner as greatly discouraged the service; and among those sent, not one of that party accompanied their pastor, Rev. Mr. Wilson, who was deputed as chaplain to the expedition; no, nor so much as bid him farewell. And the same seditious spirit, the court alleged, had been shown in almost all social relations and public affairs—all being the natural fruit of what Mr. Wheelwright and others in sympathy with him had been teaching.

Mr. Wheelwright of course denied that these things were other than accidental, or that his teaching caused them; for he insisted that he preached only the Lord Jesus Christ.

The consideration of this case was continued through two sessions of the court. Mr. Wheelwright was then offered the privilege of retiring from the colony without further censure; and "in a manner persuaded" by the court to do this, and thus stop all further trouble. But he resolutely—and as the court say, "obstinately and contemptuously"—refused all overtures of the kind, and threatened them with an appeal to the Crown if they proceeded against him, and dared them to proceed.

Under these circumstances, the court could do no less than disfranchise and banish him. From this sentence he appealed at once to the king. But he was told that an appeal would not lie in his case, for the king had given them authority under the great seal to hear and determine all causes without reservation. Mr. Wheelwright then withdrew his appeal, and he was allowed to go to his own house, on his promise to leave the colony within fourteen days, or surrender himself to one of the magistrates.*

At the same court, one of its own members, William Aspinwall, a deputy from Boston, was called to account and dismissed, and afterwards disfranchised and banished from the colony, for having drawn and advocated a petition and remonstrance to the court, in which Mr. Wheelwright was pronounced an innocent man and the court condemned for its action regarding him. Next, Mr. John Coggeshall, another Boston deputy, was dismissed and disfranchised, for approving, though he had not signed, this same remonstrance, and for

* *Short Story*, 21-27; *Winthrop*, 1, 244-46; *Mass. Court Rec.*, 1, 207-9.

Mr. Wheelwright was a good man; and when passion had subsided and calm reflection had followed, he became conscious of ill treating the Court and the ministry of the colony, and in September, 1644, made a full and free confession, and was restored to his civil and ecclesiastical standing in Massachusetts. He lived to an advanced age (between eighty and ninety years) and died at Salisbury, N. H., in 1679. — *Winthrop*, 11, 162-65; *Magnalia*, 11, 442-3; *Allen's Biog. Dictionary*.

telling the court boldly, after dismissing Mr. Aspinwall, that they had "best make one work of all, for, as for himself, though his hand was not to the petition, yet he did approve of it, and his hand was to a protestation which was to the same effect." *

Two of the serjeants of Boston — officers who attended the governor as he went about his official duties — William Baulston, or Boylston, and Edward Hutchinson, were next called before the court. They had both signed the offensive petition and remonstrance, and had been busy partisans, and when on trial "were very peremptory, and would acknowledge no failing." So they were both disfranchised and fined — Hutchinson, forty pounds, with imprisonment for special contempt. Subsequently, four others — "principal stirring men," subscribers to the petition — were disfranchised. †

After this, Mrs. Hutchinson was sent for, and charged with maintaining two public lectures

* *Short Story*, 21-23; *Winthrop*, *ut sup.*; *Court Records*. The "Remonstrance" in full may be found in the appendix to *Winthrop*, 1, 401-3, and in the *Short Story*, 21-23; and a careful reading of it will probably satisfy any one that drawing or approving this alone could not have been the only reason for the decisive acts of the court. There must have been antecedent or accompanying acts of these gentlemen which gave especial point and significance to this remonstrance. The discipline of the more noisy and outspoken Hutchinsonians really began as early as March, 1636-7. — *Winthrop*, 1, 214, 234, 348.

† *Short Story*, 30, 31; *Court Records*.

every week in her house, to which sixty or eighty persons did usually resort; and with "reproaching most of the ministers (viz., all except Mr. Cotton) for not preaching a covenant of free grace;" and saying that "they had not the seal of the Spirit, nor were able ministers of the New Testament." These charges, Winthrop says, were clearly proved against her, though she thought to shift it off. And, after many speeches to and fro, at last she was so full as she could not contain, but vented her revelations; amongst which this was one: "That she should come into New England, and should here be persecuted, and that God would ruin us and our posterity and the whole State for the same." The court, nothing daunted by the poor lady's prophecies and threats, proceeded at once to pass a decree of banishment against her also; but as winter was just at hand, did not insist on her leaving the colony immediately. Yet, deeming it unsafe for her to be at liberty, she was committed to the keeping of Mr. Joseph Welde of Roxbury, with permission to see her friends at pleasure, and to receive visits from the elders and messengers of the churches, but from no others. The decree of the court was as follows: "Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, being convicted for traducing the ministers and their ministry in the country, she declared voluntarily her revelations for her grounds, and that she should be delivered, and the court ruined with their posterity; and thereupon

was banished, and in the meanwhile was committed to Mr. Joseph Welde of Roxbury, until the court shall dispose of her."

The court also directed the town of Roxbury to provide for the safe custody of Mrs. Hutchinson, at the expense of her husband.*

Captain John Underhill, another of the principal petitioners and remonstrants in favor of Mr. Wheelwright, was next called before the court, and for justifying and defending his course was disfranchised. So many of the remonstrants as held public offices were deprived of the same; and it was further decreed, that all the other remonstrants who refused to acknowledge themselves in fault should be at once disarmed; together with "some others who had been chief stirrers in these contentions." Eleven persons acknowledged their fault and were pardoned. Fifty-eight citizens of Boston were included in this disarming order, five of Salem, three of Newbury, five of Roxbury, two of Ipswich, and two

* *Mass. Court Records*, i, 207, 212. *Hutchinson* (ii, Appendix) has preserved a report of Mrs. Hutchinson's examination before the court, and a very interesting document it is. It shows very clearly the ability and adroitness of this extraordinary woman, and that she was well nigh a match for both the magistrates and ministers. And had she kept herself on the defensive and not "vented her revelations," she might possibly have foiled them in the end. But, though the report in *Hutchinson* is more full, it is hardly so satisfactory after all as that in the *Short Story*, pp. 85-41. This certainly makes the court appear to much better advantage than does *Hutchinson's*.

of Charlestown; making a total of seventy-five men, including some of the most respectable men in the colony.*

This bold and arbitrary course—for such it certainly was—would never have been adopted by the General Court but for a serious apprehension of danger to the State from these disfranchised and disarmed men.† Winthrop publicly stated to the Boston church—some members of

* *Court Records of Mass. Bay Colony*, vol. 1, pp. 207–9. The official order for this disarming, with the names of the disarmed, may be found in Savage's *Winthrop*, 1, 247–9, note 4. The ammunition and arms of the colony were ordered to be removed from Boston, half to Newtown and half to Roxbury, for safe keeping; a very conclusive evidence that the court apprehended serious trouble from the excited and exasperated Hutchinsonians, or at least, thought it necessary to take every precaution to prevent them from proceeding to acts of violence.—*Ib.*, 250.

† The order of the court for disarming these citizens sets forth very urgent reasons for this act when it says: "Whereas the opinions and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced many of the people here in New England, in so much as there is just cause of suspicion that they, as others in Germany in former times, may, upon some revelation, make some sudden irruption upon those who differ from them in judgment; for prevention thereof it is ordered, that all those whose names are underwritten shall [upon warning given or left at their dwelling houses] before the thirtieth day of this month of November, deliver at Mr. Keayne's [Cane's] house in Boston, all such guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot, and match, as they shall be owners of or have in their custody, upon pain of ten pounds for every default to be made thereof."—*Court Records of Mass. Bay*, 1, 211; *Winthrop*, 1, 247–48 and note 4. Keayne was the first commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, formed in 1637.—*Ib.*, 253–4, 315, note.

which were earnest to have him "called to account" for these proceedings—that one of his chief reasons for concurring in the course adopted by the court was, "That he saw that those brethren, etc., were so divided from the rest of the country in their judgment and practice, as it could not stand with the public peace that they should continue amongst us. So by the example of Lot in Abraham's family, and after, Hagar and Ishmael, he saw they must be sent away."* This, undoubtedly, is the best defence that can be made for the summary and rigorous acts of the court towards Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends. It should be added, that the magistrates acted in harmony with the elders of the churches, whose advice seems to have been taken at every step.

Mrs. Hutchinson remained at Roxbury until March, and was visited by the ministers and others from time to time, with a view to her conversion from the error of her ways. But against all remonstrance and argument, she remained firm in her opinions. The Boston church at length decided that she must be "dealt with."

* Vol. I, 249-50. Winthrop seems to have exerted himself privately, after the stormy election at Newtown, May 17, 1637, to induce Vane and his friends quietly to withdraw from Massachusetts and settle where they could preach and practice their peculiar sentiments without offence to others. But these overtures, like those subsequently made to Wheelwright, were unavailing.—See *Ellis' Life of Anne Hutchinson*, in *Sparks' American Biography*, vi, 267, who quotes *Baillie's Dissuasive* as his authority.

With this in view, a public lecture was appointed on the 15th of March, at 10 A. M., and permission was obtained from the magistrates for her appearance. She was furnished with a list of twenty-nine charges against her, and the names of the witnesses in the case; and she was cited to appear and make answer to the same. Among the errors with which she was charged were, that she affirmed that men were mortal by generation, but afterwards were made immortal by Christ's purchase—that there was no resurrection of these bodies; and that these bodies were not united to Christ, but that every person united to Christ had a new body—that the Sabbath was but as other days—that men were not bound to observe the law of God as a rule of life—that neither absolute nor conditional promises belong to a Christian—that there was no inherent righteousness in a child of God—that union to Christ was not by faith—that there was no faith of God's elect but assurance—that sanctification could be no evidence at all of our good estate—that her particular revelations about future events were as infallible as any part of the Scripture *—that such exhortations as these: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling," etc., and "make your calling and election sure," etc., were spoken only to such as were under a covenant of works.

* *Winthrop*, 1, 253-55; *Short Story*, 43-61; *Felt, Ecc. Hist. N. E.*, 1, 333-38.

A large congregation collected on the occasion from all parts of the country. On Mrs. Hutchinson's appearance after the lecture, one of the ruling elders called her, and stated to her the purpose for which she was summoned, and then read the entire list of errors with which she was charged; and the trial at once began. Mrs. Hutchinson admitted that she held the opinions charged against her, and argued long and adroitly in defence of them. She finally yielded on the question of the mortality of the soul, that she was in error. But on other points she insisted that she was right. The church were, however, satisfied that she was in error, and agreed—all but her two sons—that she should be admonished for her errors. This was accordingly done with great solemnity by Mr. Cotton; and at eight o'clock in the evening, after a session of some ten hours, the assembly was dismissed.

Being wearied and dejected, Mrs. Hutchinson was allowed to go to Mr. Cotton's house in Boston. There Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Davenport, of New Haven, who was present on this great occasion, labored assiduously to convince the woman of her erroneous opinions, and of her uncharitable speeches regarding ministers who differed from her, and of her indiscretions before the court. They finally succeeded in obtaining a retraction of most of her obnoxious opinions and expressions—all, it is said, but that regarding the exhortation to work out our salvation with fear and trembling.

Accordingly, another church meeting was called, on the 22d of March, and she appeared and made a retraction in writing of her erroneous opinions; but alas, with such comments and statements as rendered it quite unsatisfactory. The church therefore called on her to explain herself. Then she declared that it was just with God to leave her to herself as He had done, for slighting His ordinances, both magistracy and ministry; and confessed that what she had spoken against the magistrates at the court (by way of revelation) was rash and ungrounded, and desired the church to pray for her. This confession gave the church great satisfaction and hope. But when she was questioned about some particular opinions — such as her denial of inherent righteousness — she affirmed and insisted that she had never held that opinion; though it was proved by several witnesses that she had not only expressed that opinion, but had argued strenuously with them in its defence. So that, after much effort to make her see and acknowledge her sin in this particular, the church finally felt compelled to cast her out.*

Mr. Cotton said that as her teacher he had already admonished her for her errors in doctrine, but it now appeared that she must be admonished by the pastor for misrepresentation. Mr. Wilson then inquired of the church whether it should be done; and a full assent approving (after the usual

* *Winthrop*, 1, 254-58.

manner) by their silence, after a pause he proceeded to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against her; and she was required to depart from the assembly. The following record was then made in the church book: "The 22d of the 1st month, 1638; Anne, the wife of our brother, William Hutchinson, having on the 15th of this moneth beene openly in publique congregation admonished of sundry errors, was cast out of ye church for persisting in a manifest lye, then expressed by her in open congregation." *

Nine or ten other persons, five or six of whom were of the Roxbury church, were disciplined and excommunicated for their determined adherence to Mrs. Hutchinson's views and practices. Some of them afterwards repented and were restored to fellowship again; others, like their leader—who gloried in her excommunication, saying that "it was the greatest happiness, next to Christ, that ever befell her"—remained unrepentant.†

Having received an order from the General Court to depart this jurisdiction, Mrs. Hutchinson left Roxbury on the 28th of March, 1638, for her husband's farm at Mt. Wollaston (Braintree), intending to go thence by water to Piscataqua, with Mr. Wheelwright's family. But for some reason she changed her mind and went to Rhode

* *Short Story*, 59-64; *Felt*, 1, 337-8; *Ellis' Life of Anne Hutchinson*, 311; *Cotton's Way of the Churches Cleared*, 61.

† *Short Story*, Preface, xv, and p. 43; *Felt*, 1, 338; *Winthrop*, 1, 250, 253.

Island, where her husband and some other sympathizers had just purchased land and begun a new settlement.* Mr. John Clarke, lately a London physician, and one of the disarmed Boston Antinomians, was the leader of this enterprise. They began their settlement early in March, and the absence from town of so many of her friends—twelve of whom were members of the Boston church—was doubtless the reason why Mrs. Hutchinson's discipline by the church was effected with so little difficulty and so much unanimity.†

Though Mrs. Hutchinson was "cast out" of the Boston church, her brethren did not seem ready to give her up entirely "to Satan to be buffeted," nor to regard her as "a heathen and a publican." Accordingly, in the winter following her removal to Rhode Island, a deputation of three members was sent to endeavor to reclaim her and "those wandering sheep at the Island." They went by land, and on foot, leaving Boston on the 22d of February, and arriving, after a tedious and somewhat dangerous journey, on the 28th. They carried a letter from the church, and instructions to see and converse with Mrs. Hutchinson and her associates at the island who were still members of the Boston church, though "wandering sheep." This mission was fulfilled as well

* *Morton's Mem.*, 133-5; *Felt*, 1, 350.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 258-9; *Ellis' Life of Mrs. Hutchinson*, 318-19.

as possible under the circumstances of the case. The deputation was received with civility, perhaps, but little more. Aspinwall, Baulston and Sanford seem to have given their visitors a good degree of satisfaction. But at Portsmouth, where they were entertained by Coggeshall, and where Mrs. Hutchinson then lived, their reception was far from satisfactory. The lady's friends there declined to call the people together that the Boston messengers might read the letter of the church to them, saying, "they did not know what power one church had over another church." They denied the commission of the Boston brethren; did not think they were tied to the church by their covenant; and refused to have the letter of the Boston church read to them, unless read to them as a church of Christ. So the deputation were obliged to go from house to house with their message, and address themselves to the wanderers individually. When they came to Mrs. Hutchinson, and told her they had a message to her from the Lord and from the Boston church, she replied: "There are lords many and gods many, but I acknowledge but one Lord. Which Lord do you mean?" They replied, that they came in the name of but one Lord and that is God. Then saith she, "In so far we agree, and where we do agree let it be set down." But when they told her that they had a message to her from the church at Boston, she replied: "She knew no church but one." They responded: "In Scripture the

Holy Ghost calls them churches." She responded: "Christ hath but one spouse." They rejoined, that "He had in some sort, as many spouses as saints." But as for the Boston church, "she would not acknowledge it any church of Christ."

Such for substance was the report of the Boston messengers on their return from Rhode Island. The question of further steps occupied the attention of the church for more than one church meeting. An answer was prepared to the various excuses and objections of the seceding brethren; and it was debated whether the church had not already done all that was required of it, all that could be done; whether it was not their duty to cut them all off, as refusing to hear the church, agreeably to Matthew xviii; and for Mrs. Hutchinson, whether "the greater censure of anathema maranatha" ought not to be pronounced. After much consideration, the elders seem to have come to the conclusion that under the peculiar circumstances of the case—or rather the several cases involved—it was best for the church to delay further action of any kind. In this the church acquiesced, and so the matter was suffered to rest.*

The death of Mr. Hutchinson in 1642, the

* The reader will find a summary account of this mission to the Island in *The Life of Mrs. Hutchinson*, by Dr. Ellis (pp. 338-348), derived from an old manuscript in the Mass. Hist. Soc.'s Library. See also *Winthrop*, I, 328; II, 15; *Short Story*, Preface, xiii.

removal of Mrs. Hutchinson and her entire family to the Dutch territory on Long Island Sound, and the tragical end of them all, with the exception of one young child, by the hands of the Indians in 1648, terminated this protracted and bitter quarrel, and gave rest finally to the churches of New England from Antinomian errors of faith and irregularities of practice.*

But it is time to turn from these controversial matters to some of the fruits of the controversy, in the establishment of Congregational communities and churches in the little State which owes so much to the disfranchised Antinomians of Massachusetts.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN RHODE ISLAND.

The first settlement of Rhode Island proper — Isle of Rhodes, Isle of Aquiday — was made by Dr. John Clarke, William Coddington — one of the wealthiest and most influential of the first settlers of Massachusetts — and sixteen other persons, chiefly disfranchised Antinomians. But though disfranchised, they were generally a substantial,

* *Winthrop*, II, 135-6; *Short Story*, Pref., xv; *Ellis' Life of Mrs. Hutchinson*, 350-55. One of the very ablest and most exhaustive accounts of this Antinomian Controversy, of modern times, appeared in the *Congregational Quarterly*, April, July and October, 1873; written by the late Rev. John A. Vinton, of Winchester, Mass., a very careful and thorough scholar, and a clear, forcible writer.

religious sort of people, and began their settlement on the Island as Christians ought to have done. They first of all entered into a civil and religious compact or covenant as follows: "We whose names are underwritten do here solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body political as He shall help, and will submit our persons, lives, and estates, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of His, given to us in His most holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby." Exod. xxiv: 34; 2d Chron. xi: 3; 2d Kings xi: 17." *

The first settlement was made at Pocasset, afterwards called Portsmouth, at the northern extremity of the island. But the settlers increased so rapidly that in April, 1639, a number of the principal men removed to the southern extremity of the Island, carrying with them the records, and in effect removing the colony to Newport. Mr. Clarke officiated as the minister as well as the physician of the settlement, while the people lived in constant expectation that Mr. Wheelwright would join them and become their pastor. But

* The eighteen names signed to this comprehensive and excellent document were: William Coddington, John Clarke, William Hutchinson, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Sanford, Edward Hutchinson, Jr., Thos. Savage, William Dyer, William Freeborne, Philip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, Sr., and Henry Ball. — *Felt*, 1, 350.

in 1640 the Rev. Robert Lenthall became their minister.* The first settlers were nearly all Congregationalists, and as early as May, 1639, organized a Congregational church; having lived up to that time, as the New Haven colonists did for more than a year, with their plantation covenant as their only ecclesiastical as well as civil bond of union.†

But their course was disliked by the Massachusetts authorities, and though the Boston church refrained from the formal exclusion of this new church from Christian fellowship, it remonstrated, and even sent a deputation to them; and the General Court of Massachusetts refused to hold any communication with those of Aquiday.‡ And it must be admitted, that the discordant opinions and the disorderly doings on that island for some years after its first settlement furnished too much ground for this prejudice. The arrival of Samuel Gorton at Aquiday, in 1638—a most thorough fanatic, a very shrewd, energetic and capable man

* *Court Records*, 1, 226; *Winthrop*, 1, 259; *Hutchinson's Hist.*, 1, 72-75; *Callender's Century Sermons*, 86-88, 116, 210-12; *Arnold's Hist. R. I.*, etc., 1, 124, 132, 145; *Felt*, 1, 349-52. Cotton says that one reason why Wheelwright "constantly refused Mr. Hutchinson's company's earnest invitation and call of him to minister unto them" in Rhode Island was "because of the corruption of their judgments, professing often, whilst they pleaded for the covenant of grace, they took away the grace of the covenant." — *Way of the Cong. Chhs. Cleared*, p. 61.

† *Winthrop*, 1, 295-7, 328; 11, 15; *Arnold*, 1, 137; *Felt*, 1, 557.

‡ *Winthrop*, 11, 21. See also previous references.

—served to increase the troubles of the islanders and to confirm their previous bad reputation.* Winthrop, under date of March, 1638-9, says: "At Aquiday also Mrs. Hutchinson exercised publicly, and she and her party (some three or four families) would have no magistracy. She sent also an admonition to the church of Boston; but the elders would not read it publicly because she was excommunicated. By these examples we may see how dangerous it is to slight the censures of the church; for it was apparent that God had given them up to strange delusions." †

And a little further on, the Governor writes: "At Aquiday the people grew very tumultuous, and put out Mr. Coddington, and the other three magistrates, and chose Mr. William Hutchinson only, a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the former troubles in the country, and still continued to breed disturbance." ‡ These statements of Winthrop have been called in question, as having no better foundation than vague and unreliable reports. But his statement regarding the opposition of Mrs. Hutchinson's party to all magistracy is confirmed by Baillie, in his *Dissuasive*, who makes this distinct charge against the Independents: "Others of them, with the grossest Anabaptists, have

* *Ib.*, I, 57-59. See "New heresies broached in Aquiday, in 1641." — *Winthrop*, II, 38-41.

† *Ib.*, I, 293.

‡ *Ib.*, I, 295.

denied the lawfulness of any magistrates at all." And in support of this charge, he says: "Mr. Williams related to me, that Mistress Hutchinson (with whom he was familiarly acquainted, and of whom he spake much good) after she had come to Rid Island, and her husband had been made governor there, she perswaded him to lay down his office, upon the opinion which newly she had taken up, of the unlawfulness of magistracy." *

The settlement at Newport, according to Lechford, grew very rapidly, for in 1642 he said: "At the island called Aquedney are about two hundred families. There was a church, where Master Clark was elder. The place where the church was, is called Newport; but that church I heare is now dissolved." †

This church seems to have been maintained for three or four years; or until Dr. Clarke, its minister as well as the physician of the plantation, became a Baptist, with many of his people. The original settlers, however, did not all sympathize with this change; and though unable to reorganize at once as a Congregational church, they kept alive their love of Congregationalism, and about 1690 succeeded in securing a minister, the Rev. Nathaniel Clapp, of Dorchester, Mass.; and in 1720, in getting a regularly organized Congregational

* Pp. 124, 150. See also *Ellis' Life of Mrs. Hutchinson*, 325.

† In *Felt's Ecc. Hist. N. E.*, 1, 458.

church at Newport, and securing the installation of Mr. Clapp as their pastor.*

The Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of renowned memory, was installed over this church April 11, 1769, and remained its pastor to the time of his death, December 20, 1803, at the advanced age of eighty-two years.

In 1728 (April 11) a second Congregational church was formed in Newport, by a secession of twenty-one members from the first, and the Rev. John Adams was installed pastor. The celebrated Dr. Ezra Stiles became the pastor of this church, October 22, 1755, and remained with it until 1777, when he was called to the presidency of Yale College, which he retained till his death in 1795. The two churches were united in 1833, and in 1878 had a membership of two hundred and twenty-one. In 1859 another Congregational church was organized, called the Union Church, which had a membership of nearly one hundred and forty-eight in 1878.†

* *Callender's Historical Discourses*, 116-18; *Shepard's Brief History of the Cong. Chhs. and Ministers of Rhode Island*—in *Am. Reg.*, xii, 261-73.

† *Callender*, 116-20; *Shepard's Brief History*; *Peterson's Hist. Rhode Island*, pp. 318-330. The celebrated names of Dean Berkley and William Ellery Channing are intimately associated with Newport. The Dean resided there for a short time while engaged in efforts to establish a college in the Bermuda Islands, for the education of missionaries and Indians. Mr. Channing was born in Newport, and spent his youth there.—See *Callender's Hist. Discourses*, 30-35; *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 554-5, ii, 53; *Allen's*

The church in Barrington, however, is reputed to be the oldest Congregational church in Rhode Island, dating back to 1670.* The first settlers were from Plymouth Colony, and early secured the services of a Christian pastor. The first pastor appears to have been John Wilson. He was in Barrington before 1700, and probably remained there until about 1718, when his successor, Samuel Torrey, was settled. The church has enjoyed a succession of good ministers, and still lives, with a membership of one hundred and fifty-nine.

The town of Bristol, Rhode Island, was first settled in 1680. The original grantees were John Walley, Nathaniel Oliver, Nathaniel Byfield, and Stephen Burton, all Boston merchants and men of distinction. They and their associates were Congregationalists, and are represented to have been men of eminent piety.† They certainly showed their attachment to the institutions of

Biog. Dict. *Allibone* has a long and appreciative notice of Dean Berkley and his various writings.

* Dr. Shepard says, "It is the oldest in the State that has held its standing as such to the present time." — *Am. Quar. Reg.*, xii, 271. Dr. Quint, however, gives 1711 as the year of organization; which would make it several years the junior of Bristol. — *Year Book*, January, 1879, p. 108.

† Burton sold his quarter-part of this purchase to Nathan Hayman, of Boston, who took Burton's place in the first settlement of the town. The whole number of inhabitants in the town, September 1, 1681, was seventy-nine. — *Manual of the First Congregational Church, Bristol, R. I.*, 1687-1872, pp. 51-53. Would that every ancient church in the United States had a Manual equal to this.

religion by securing the services of a Congregational minister, the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, immediately on their settlement in the place; and four years later, in 1684, they built a large and substantial meeting-house, which accommodated the people for an entire century. In 1687 (May 8) a Congregational church of eight male members was organized by the Rev. Samuel Lee, an English Dissenting minister of eminent piety and learning, who succeeded Mr. Woodbridge somewhere about 1686, and remained with the people until about 1691, when he embarked for England. He was captured by a French privateer, carried to France, and there died.*

This ancient church, after various vicissitudes — though largely of a favorable nature — still remains a flourishing vine which the Lord hath planted, having for its senior pastor the venerable and excellent Thomas Shepard, who was installed in 1835; and a membership of over three hundred souls.†

Little Compton (Seaconnet) was settled soon after Philip's Indian war ended, in 1676. Its

* *Shepard's Brief History.*

† In the Bristol Church Manual is a sketch of Mr. Lee's life and character. *Allen* gives quite an extended account of Mr. Lee. He was at one time associated with the celebrated Theophilus Gale, in the care of a London church. He was a distinguished scholar, and published a number of sermons and other works.

first settlers were men who loved the gospel, and set apart one thirty-third part of the township for its maintenance. A Congregational church was gathered here on the 30th of November, 1704, and the Rev. Richard Billings was ordained its pastor; which he continued to be for about forty-four years. The church has now a membership of one hundred and forty persons.

It was not until about the year 1720 that a successful movement was made to reëstablish Congregationalism in Providence, after the defection of Roger Williams and his associates, in 1669. The number and pecuniary ability of those who first moved in this business were so small that they were obliged to seek aid from the churches of Connecticut and Massachusetts, to build them a meeting-house. The house was first set up on the west side of the river, where there were only some half a dozen dwelling-houses. But after a short time, it was taken down and removed to the east side, where most of the people then lived.* This house was finished in the fall of 1723; was used by the church as a meeting-house seventy-two years; and in 1869 was still standing, and in use as a town house, aged one hundred and forty-six years. The society was supplied with preachers from sister churches for several years.

* In 1732 there were twelve houses on the west side of the river and seventy-four on the east side.—*Vose's Historical Discourses*, note H.

Among others, the celebrated revivalist, Samuel Moody, of York, Me., was allowed by his church to supply the Providence church for three months, much to the satisfaction and profit of the people, who were anxious to have him for a pastor; but Mr. Moody's people refused to release him. As the result of his labors in Providence, sixteen persons were baptized by him in the spring of 1724-5, and were recognized as the foundation of the first Congregational church in Providence, R. I.

The first pastor of this church was the Rev. Josiah Cotton, son of Rev. Roland Cotton of Sandwich, grandson of the Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth, and great grandson of the renowned Rev. John Cotton of Boston. Mr. Cotton continued for about nineteen years the acceptable pastor of a united people. But after the great excitement attending the labors of Whitefield and others, about 1740-1743, some of Mr. Cotton's people began to be dissatisfied with him, charging him with "not being evangelical enough" — with being "an opposer of the work of God's Spirit — a preacher of damnable good works," etc., etc., and the church itself was styled "Babylon, Egypt, and Anti-Christ, whom God would destroy." Furthermore, it was declared to be the duty of all good men to "come out from among them and be separate." The result of all this was—as in many other places about that time—the church was rent in twain. And though Mr. Cotton struggled along for about four years, the society

was so weakened by the division that he felt constrained at last to resign his pastorate and leave the town.*

The church did not fully recover from this blow until about 1780–83, when the Rev. Enos Hitchcock became their minister, and finally their pastor. Under his preaching and management the old church and society revived and grew, until a new and more spacious house of worship was needed and secured. But Dr. Hitchcock, though at first a Trinitarian, was an Arminian, and gradually slid into substantial Unitarianism. Without preaching against the ancient faith of the church, or announcing formally any change in his views, he “silently discontinued the use of Trinitarian forms and phrases, especially the singing of the doxology and those threefold ascriptions at the close of his prayers . . .;” † and thus slowly but surely prepared the way for his successor, Dr. Edes, to declare himself openly a Unitarian, with the hearty concurrence of a majority of his people.

On the 7th of March, 1743, about half of Mr.

* *Discourses Comprising the History of the First Congregational Church in Providence, R. I.*, by Edward Hall, pastor, 1836; *Commemorative Discourses preached in the Beneficent Congregational Church, Providence, R. I.*, by James G. Vose, pastor, 1869; particularly pp. 12–26 and notes A and H. See also Dr. Shepard’s *Brief History of the Congregational Churches and Ministers of Rhode Island*, in *Am. Quar. Register*, xii, 268–9; *Farmer’s General Reg.*; *Allen’s Biog. Dict.* Mr. Vose’s discourses constitute a part of a beautiful Manual of this church—a very model of a book.

† *Hall’s Century Discourses*, p. 57.

Cotton's church seceded, and became the second, or Beneficent Congregational Church of Providence. This seems to have been what was known in those days as a "Separate" or "New Light" church. They called one of their own number, Joseph Snow, Jr., to be their pastor in October, 1746, and he served them faithfully for about fifty years.* Mr. Snow was a carpenter by trade, and, finding his congregation embarrassed for the want of a place of worship, put himself at the head of some of his principal men, went to the woods, cut the timber and prepared the lumber for a meeting-house, which with their own hands was raised and finished, and then dedicated to Divine worship. In 1793, being seventy-four years old, Mr. Snow requested a colleague, and the Rev. James Wilson was ordained. But the old pastor, becoming dissatisfied, seceded with a portion of the people and formed the Richmond Street Church.

Other Congregational churches have since been formed in Providence, until in 1878 the whole number was eight, with a membership of two thousand five hundred souls.†

* Their place of worship was called "The New Light Meeting House" — "The Ténement Church" — "Mr. Snow's Meeting House." — *Vose*, note J.

† *Vose's Discourses; Shepard; The Great Awakening*, 412; *Quint's Statistics*, January, 1879. Mr. Vose gives Mr. Snow an excellent, not to say an eminent character, as a man of devoted piety, great activity and extraordinary good sense; as a sound

Sometime in 1722 the town of Kingston was divided into North and South, and in 1732 a Congregational church was formed at South Kingston, and the Rev. Joseph Torrey was installed pastor. He remained pastor for fifty years or more, until 1783 or later,* and his successor, Rev. Thomas Kendall, was installed September 29, 1802.† This

theologian and an earnest preacher, who had a bodily presence and strength of lungs sufficient to enforce his preaching to the utmost. He died in 1803, in the eighty-ninth year of his life, and the fifty-eighth of his ministry. — *Benedict, Hist. Bap.*, I, 488, calls him "one of the zealous New Lights of Whitefield's time." — *Hall*, p. 54.

Mr. Wilson was a Scotch-Irishman, or rather a Scotch-Irish-German, having his birth in Ireland, of a Scotch father and German mother. He was trained up among the Wesleyan Methodists, and was one of their preachers in England. But becoming dissatisfied with some of their peculiarities, he left them and became a Congregationalist in profession. He was a self-educated man, but was for years a celebrated teacher in Providence, even after he became pastor of the Second Congregational Church there. Mr. Vose devotes an entire discourse to Mr. Wilson. — Pp. 47-62.

An act of this "New Light" church of Providence deserves particular mention, as illustrative of its character. Under date of January 2, 1769, we find the following church record: — "The church considered it as the duty of each male member, to give in a proper and honest account of their worldly circumstances unto the said seven brethren," who had been chosen by the church, "to proportion, according to each member's circumstances and abilities," the amount due from him for the support of the minister and the poor of the parish. — *Vose's Discourses*, note I.

* *Dr. Shepard.* Dr. Quint gives 1820 as the date of the existing Congregational church in Kingston. From which it is inferable that the old church died out, and a new one was formed.

† Mr. Torrey was a graduate of Harvard, in the class of 1728, and died in 1792, aged ninety-three years.

church has become extinct. There is still, however, a Congregational church of forty-eight members in Kingston; but it dates back only to 1820.

Tiverton was originally regarded as within the bounds of Massachusetts, but in 1746 was set off to Rhode Island and incorporated as a town. On the 20th day of August, of the same year, the first Congregational church was organized in the place, and on the 1st of October, the Rev. Othniel Campbell was installed pastor.* The church still lives, and has a membership of fifty-six persons.

What has now been written will give the reader a tolerable outline view of Congregationalism in the present State of Rhode Island, including the two original plantations of Providence and Rhode Island, or Aquiday.

* He was a graduate of Harvard, in the class of 1728, and died in 1778, aged eighty-two years.

CHAPTER XI.

PLYMOUTH CHURCH AND COLONY FROM ABOUT 1630—SETTLEMENTS AND CHURCHES AT DUXBURY, MARSHFIELD, SCITUATE, BARNSTABLE, EASTHAM, TAUNTON, SANDWICH.

HAVING in preceding chapters briefly reviewed the history of the five settlements which followed that of the old Leyden church in this wilderness, we turn now to the old church herself—which was in an important sense the mother of all the successful New England settlements and churches—to inquire how she has prospered at Plymouth during all these eventful years.

For about nine years—from 1620 to 1629—the church at Plymouth had no ordained pastor. Yet the members constantly and conscientiously maintained public worship; their admirable ruling elder, William Brewster, taking the place of a pastor so far as preaching and the general care of the church were concerned. Samuel Fuller, their beloved physician, and John Carver, their first governor, were deacons of the church when the settlement of Plymouth began, and continued in office while they lived.

The first deacons chosen after the arrival of the church in America were Richard Masterson and Thomas Blossom; and at a later date, John Doane, William Paddy, John Cooke and John Downham.

Samuel Fuller was a member of the church in Leyden. He was a skillful physician, and of great service to the first settlers in Massachusetts as well as Plymouth. He died of fever in 1633.

John Carver was also a member of the Leyden church, and was their trusted agent in negotiating for a charter, etc. His name stands at the head of the signers of the compact on board the *Mayflower*, intimating that he was regarded as the most honorable of the company. He was chosen the first governor of the colony; but lived only till April, 1621, probably losing his life by his attentions to the sick after his own partial recovery. He had a handsome property in England, which he expended freely in the colonization of the Leyden church. John Doane was an Assistant in 1633. In 1644, he removed to Nauset (Eastham) and there lived to a good old age.*

Richard Masterson and Thomas Blossom were both among those who remained at Leyden, on the embarkation of the first company, and are signers of the letter to the Plymouth church announcing the sad news of Mr. Robinson's death, November 30, 1625.† William Paddy was deacon in 1636, removed to Boston in 1651, and died there in 1653. According to Morton, he had "a great temporal estate," and was a very good and useful man.‡ John Cooke came with his father,

* *Bradford*, 306, 426; *Farmer's Reg.*; *Morton's Mem.*, 148.

† *Young's Chronicles*, 73, and 487-8.

‡ *Memorial*, 183-4, Cong. Board ed., 1855.

Francis, in the *Mayflower*. He was living in 1694.* Of John Donham, or Downham, it is only known that he was not one of the earliest of the immigrants; but that he came before 1631, and died in 1668, aged eighty years.†

Up to 1625, the church lived in constant expectation of being joined by their beloved pastor, Mr. Robinson. But he was kept away by the absurd fears of the "London Adventurers" that his settlement in Plymouth would injure the enterprise, by giving it the reputation of a Brownist colony.‡

As a substitute for the learned and admirable Robinson, one John Lyford, "a preacher not the most eminent," as Cushman describes him, was sent over by the Londoners in 1624. He was kindly and even cordially received, and was readily admitted to the fellowship of the church. For this he professed the greatest joy, and "blessed God for this opportunity to enjoy the ordinances of God in purity among His people."§ He also took great pains to ingratiate himself with the colonists. "He so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands, if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces," etc. But he soon proved himself to be a graceless creature. He was detected, in

* *Bradford*, 449, 453, and 455. † *Davis' Morton*, p. 227.

‡ Robinson's Letters in *Bradford*, 163-67, 187, 197, 205.

§ *Bradford*, 171-2.

alliance with John Oldham, playing the part of a spy and traducer, and, after a full exposure of his hypocrisy, and a season of trial and probation, with the hope of amendment, he was cast out of the church, as a hopeless deceiver and adventurer. After two or three years wandering about New England, Lyford went to Virginia and there died.*

About the beginning of April, 1626, the sad intelligence reached the Plymouth church that their beloved pastor, John Robinson, was dead. He was taken ill on Saturday, the 12th of February, 1625-6 (February 22, 1626, New Style); but was able to preach twice on the Sabbath following. During the week, however, without being conscious of much sickness, and without much experience of pain, he grew weaker daily, until Saturday, the 19th (or March 1st N. S.), when he died, aged fifty years. His disease is described as "a continual inward ague." He retained his senses until the last, and died peacefully, surrounded by his friends, who would have saved his valuable life, if "prayers and tears and means" could have done it.† We have already so fully considered the life, labors and character of this incomparable man, that there is no occasion for dwelling on the subject here.‡ He was a rare man, in character and

* See *Bradford*, 171-81, 192-96.

† *Bradford*, 205-7.

‡ *History of Congregationalism*, vol. III, chap. xi-xiii.

attainments, and his presence with the Plymouth church would have been an inestimable favor and blessing. But God suffered men to prevent so desirable a consummation. After Mr. Robinson's death, the church was very desirous to secure a pastor, yet they were obliged to remain several years longer destitute. In 1628, a young man by the name of Rogers was sent to them from England. Though their experience with Lyford made them cautious about receiving a minister selected by the "Adventurers," yet they consented to make some trial of the gifts and qualifications of Rogers. But they soon discovered that he was of unsound mind; and they had to incur considerable expense to send him back to England the next year.*

Some time in 1629, the Rev. Ralph Smith came to Plymouth, from Massachusetts, where he arrived with Mr. Higginson and others. His situation at Nantasket (afterwards called Hull), whither he went from Salem, being very uncomfortable, he embraced a favorable opportunity of going to Plymouth, with his wife and family, until he could find a permanent residence. He was kindly received there, and, proving to be a "grave man," and a good man too, after trial, he was invited to become their pastor; and remained with them five or six years. But, though a graduate of Cambridge University, Mr. Smith was regarded as a man of "low gifts and parts," and the church was

* *Bradford*, 243.

glad to avail themselves of such other assistants as they could obtain; and, among others, invited Roger Williams, a young man, "godly and zealous, having many precious parts," to preach to them. He accepted the invitation, came to them, was admitted to their church, and preached to them for about three years. But beginning "to fall into some strange opinions, and from opinions to practice, which caused some controversies between the church and him, and in the end some discontent on his part—he left them something abruptly." From thence he went to Salem, and afterwards was dismissed from the Plymouth church to the church in Salem, with some "caution to them concerning him." His subsequent career and experience has been already considered in a previous chapter.* In 1636 Mr. Smith resigned his pastorate, "partly," says Bradford, "by his own willingness, as thinking it too heavy a burden, and partly at the desire and by the persuasion of others;" who, adds Cotton, "apprehended him not sufficiently gifted for the work."†

* *Bradford*, 263, 310, 351; *An Account of the Church of Christ in Plymouth, in New England, etc.*, by John Cotton, Esq.; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 1st series, vol. iv, pp. 109–10; *Allen's Biog. Dic.*

† *Cotton* (p. 110) says: "The next year after Mr. Williams' departure (which was anno 1634) Mr. Smith also resigned his ministry," etc.; but *Bradford*, under "*Anno Dom.*, 1636," says: "*This year Mr. Smith layed downe his place of ministrie,*" etc., p. 35. *Winthrop* says that "Mr. Smith gave over his place that Mr. Norton might have it." — *Hist. N. E.*, i, 175.

In 1645 he was called to preach at Manchester, Mass., and in 1662 died at Boston.*

During Mr. Smith's ministry (about the year 1635) the church employed Mr. Edward Winslow, the agent of the colony in England, to procure a teaching elder, to be joined with Mr. Smith; and he engaged a Mr. Glover, "an able dispenser of the word." But, unfortunately, after he had engaged his passage and prepared for the voyage, he was seized with fever and died. Soon afterwards the celebrated John Norton was engaged, and came over at the expense of the church, and preached to them about a year. But though earnestly pressed to remain, he declined,† and removed to Massachusetts; first to Ipswich, "where were many rich and able men, and sundry of his acquaintance," and afterwards to Boston, on the death of Rev. John Cotton, whose immediate successor he became.‡

The Plymouth church remained destitute of a pastor two years after Mr. Smith left them. In 1636, the Rev. John Reyner, "after some time of trial," was chosen their teacher. He is represented to have been "a godly man, of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth and every way unreprouable in his life and conversation; an able, faithful, laborious preacher of the gospel, and a

* *Allen; Winthrop*, 11, 253.

† "Alleging that his spirit could not close with them, etc." — *Winthrop*, 1, 175.

‡ *Bradford*, 343; *Cotton's Chh. in Plym.*, 110.

wise orderer of the affairs of the church; singularly endowed with a gift and propensity to train up children in a catechetical way in the grounds of the Christian religion."* He remained with the church until the year 1654; when, owing to difficulties in the church at Barnstable, which seriously affected the Plymouth church, and to the weakening of the church by the removal of some of the most influential members, together with "the unsettledness of the church—too many of the members being leavened with prejudice against a learned ministry, by means of sectaries then spreading through the land—an epidemical disease prevailing in too many of the churches about that time"†—Mr. Reyner left Plymouth. His removal was a serious loss to the place. "Ignorance ensued in the town among the vulgar, and also much licentiousness and profaneness among the younger sort."‡ He left in November, 1654, and went to Boston. In the spring he returned to Plymouth, and, had the people complied with a proposition which he made to them,

* *Bradford*, 351; *Cotton*.

† *Cotton*. The difficulties in the Barnstable church appear to have been substantially the same as were experienced by other churches in the colony about that time. The Baptists, the Quakers and the Antinomians were all at work; and, together with a growing spirit of insubordination to the ruling powers in Church and State, were doing much mischief. In Barnstable the disaffected had broken out into open schism in the church; and a body had gone off as a separate and independent church.

‡ *Cotton*.

he would have remained. But declining it, "to their after-sorrow, he went back." During the summer, Mr. Reyner received an invitation to preach at Dover, N. H.; where he was afterward installed, and where he remained to the time of his death in 1669. He was a brother of Governor Bradford's second wife.

Two years after Mr. Reyner's settlement at Plymouth, the church used their utmost endeavors to persuade the Rev. Charles Chauncy, "a very learned and godly man," to become a colleague with Mr. Reyner; the one to be pastor and the other teacher, after the fashion of that day. Mr. Chauncy came among them in May, 1638, and preached to them "the most part of three years;" but he declined a settlement. The great difficulty seems to have been, that he was a Baptist, so far as the mode of baptism was concerned. But so anxious were the Plymouth people to secure his valuable services, that they offered to allow him to baptize according to his own convictions all who desired it; on condition that he would consent that Mr. Reyner should baptize in the usual way all who preferred that mode. But he could not be persuaded to remain with them, even on these liberal terms. He afterward became the pastor of the church of Scituate, where he remained about twelve years; and then, finding it impossible to live on his salary, resolved to return to England, and came to Boston to embark; but being invited to succeed the Rev. Henry Dunster

as President of Harvard College, he consented to remain and accept that important position, which he held to the time of his death, February 19, 1672, aged eighty-one years.*

After Mr. Reyner's removal from Plymouth, the church remained without a pastor for about fifteen years. In the meantime, religious services were regularly maintained twice every Sabbath — the neighboring ministers often preaching to them. But when they had no minister, the elders of the church, with the aid of the more gifted brethren, maintained public worship. Elder Thomas Cushman, after the death of Elder Brewster, and Mr. Edward Winslow, were particularly active and useful in sustaining public worship. They had been trained to such service under their excellent pastor, Mr. Robinson. During this period of destitution, the colony, and even the church, was much troubled by the presence and teachings of Quakers. Several members of the church were considerably affected by these new doctrines; though only one Plymouth family, that of Samuel Hicks, openly embraced Quaker tenets.†

This destitution of a preacher was not voluntary on the part of the church. They sent repeatedly to Massachusetts for a supply, and they kept many days of fasting and prayer for Divine direction and aid. Two very excellent ministers, Mr. James Williams and Mr. William Brimsmead,

* *Cotton*, 111-12. *Allen's Biog. Dic.* † *Cotton*, 121.

came at different times and preached to them; but, though earnestly desired to remain, both declined settlement.* The explanation of this is found in the fact that the church was small and feeble, numbering in 1666 only forty-seven resident members, many of the aged and influential members having deceased, and others having scattered to neighboring towns, Plymouth proving to be a comparatively barren and unpromising territory for agricultural purposes.

In September, 1666, Mr. John Cotton, son of the Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, a learned and able minister, was called to Plymouth; but being then under engagements elsewhere, he could not at once respond to the call. During the following year, the call being renewed, he accepted the invitation, and in November, 1667, removed to Plymouth with his family. He remained with the church on trial a year and a half, and then was ordained as their pastor, June 30, 1669.

The deacons being either dead or having removed, the church proceeded to elect and ordain Mr. Robert Finney and Mr. Ephraim Morton to the office.

Soon after the settlement of Mr. Cotton, he and the ruling elder of the church undertook a careful visitation of the town, for religious purposes, going to every family and addressing the old and the young with inquiries, counsels, admonitions,

* *Baylie's*, II, 252.

exhortations and encouragements, as circumstances seemed to require. This visitation was blessed; and "the work of God seemed in those days to have a considerable revival." The pastor (constantly attended by the ruling elder) next began a course of catechising of the children once a fortnight; the males at one time, the females at another. A monthly meeting for religious conference was also established, which was maintained by the church for many years.

The first fruits of Mr. Cotton's labors were twenty-seven additions to the church; and during his thirty years' ministry, one hundred and seventy-eight members were admitted.

The usual course pursued in admitting members was, to require from male candidates an oral confession and relation of religious experience, in the presence of the congregation—the candidates having first been examined privately by the elders. Female candidates gave their relations in private to the elders, who wrote them down at the time, to be read by the pastor in public, the elders giving their testimony to "the competency of the knowledge of the candidates," who then stood "propounded" for two or three weeks, before they could be admitted to the church. Such was the care of our mother church in the admission of members by profession of their faith. But, if any came to them with letters of recommendation from other churches, they were admitted to the church on those testimonials, and nothing

more was required of them.* Some modification of the rule respecting oral confessions and relations before the whole congregation was, after a while, made in favor of those men who through extreme bashfulness or feebleness of voice could not speak intelligibly before the congregation. These men, at the discretion of the elders, were allowed to give their relations to the church in private; but voting their admission and covenanting was always done in public.†

In the year of grace 1632 was formed the church at Duxbury, the first offshoot of the Plymouth church. The settlement of this territory, which lies on the opposite or northern side of the bay from Plymouth, was the natural result of the growth and prosperity of this colony, and of the increase of people in Massachusetts Bay, making a market for corn and cattle, which greatly enhanced prices and made farming and stock-raising specially profitable. The narrow bounds of Plymouth did not afford the needed land for these purposes, and consequently it was sought along

* The modern usage of Congregational churches varies in this particular; some requiring relations from persons bringing letters from sister churches, as from those about to make public confessions for the first time. But courtesy to sister churches, as well as the primitive usage of the mother church of our denomination, commend the practice of receiving members from other churches on the recommendation of those churches, in all ordinary cases.

† *Cotton's Account*, 124.

the shores of Plymouth Bay. John Alden, Myles Standish, Jonathan Brewster and Thomas Prince were among the first to occupy this ground. But the interests of the old town and church and the safety of the inhabitants were thought to require that the farmers of Duxbury should retain their citizenship at Plymouth, and continue to go thither for public worship. This was assented to, and for some time practised by the chief men of the new settlement. But they soon began to complain that their families could not be brought so far to the public services of religion and to the more private church meetings; and the settlement having increased sufficiently to constitute a church by themselves, they desired dismissal for this purpose, and it was granted them, "though very unwillingly," as it materially weakened the old church.*

The church in Duxbury does not seem to have had a pastor until 1637, when the Rev. Ralph Partridge, a dissenting English minister, came over and settled with them, and there remained, in spite of all discouragements, to the day of his death, 1658. Mr. Partridge appears to have been a man of eminent piety and great humility; and to have had a good reputation as a scholar and divine. He must also have been possessed of considerable property too, for his library, at his death, contained some four hundred volumes. His house

* *Bradford*, 303; *Cotton*, 121.

also was well, if not handsomely furnished, and his farm embraced one hundred and fifty acres of land.*

The next important offshoot of the Plymouth church was that at Green, or Green's Harbor, first called Rexham, and afterwards Marshfield. The organization of this church was even more grievous to the old church than was that of Duxbury; for the land at Marshfield had been assigned to some "special persons" who would be likely to be "helpful to the church," on the express condition that they should live in Plymouth, while they kept their cattle and servants at Marshfield. "But, alas, this remedy proved worse than the disease; for within a few years those who had thus got footing there rent themselves away, partly by wearying the rest with importunity and pleas of necessity." †

Bradford does not give the date of this separation, though Cotton says they "were incorporated soon after Duxborough." ‡ It probably occurred as early as 1639-40; for, at the session of the General Court on the third day of March of that year, there was granted "to Mr. Edward Winslow and the rest of the neighborhood of Green's Harbor, a competent piece of upland and meadow for

* *Bradford*, 383 and notes; *Mather's Magnalia*, vol. I, p. 365, ed. 1820; *Allen's Biog. Dic.*; *Winsor's Hist. Duxbury*, p. 175.

† *Bradford*, 303.

‡ *Account*, etc., 111.

a farm for a minister; and one other competent portion of land, near unto the said lot, for the minister; either for Nehemiah Smyth, or some other, as the said inhabitants of Green's Harbor shall place in." * From this it is inferred that the church had already been constituted, and that Mr. Smyth was serving them as a minister.†

In 1642 the Rev. Richard Blinman, from Chepstow, Monmouthshire, England, removed to Green Harbor, with a number of his Welch friends of kindred spirit, and became the pastor of this church. But difficulties arising in the church, he and his friends, about fifty in number, thought it best to leave the place and retire to Gloucester, Massachusetts, of which they became the first settlers.‡ After about six years, he removed to New London, Connecticut, and at the close of ten years'

* *Plym. Coll. Rec.*, vols. 1, 11, p. 142. Shurtleff's ed.

† Miss Thomas, in her *Memorials of Marshfield*, says that old documents imply that Nehemiah Smyth was the first minister of Marshfield — p. 13. Boston, 1854. Possibly she may refer to these records of court: "Nehemiah Smyth desired to be admitted a freeman at the court held at Plymouth, March 6, 1637-8." — *Plym. Coll. Rec.*, 1, 79. "Desired land towards the six mile brook." — *Ib.*, 83. He was married to Ann Burne, Jan. 21, 1639-40. — *Ib.*, 138. Was a resident of Green Harbor in 1639-40. — *Ib.*, 142.

‡ *Winthrop's Journal*, or *Hist. New Eng.*, 11, 64; *Allen's Biog. Dic. Lechford*, in his *Plain Dealing*, says: "Mr. Wilson [minister of Boston] did lately ride to Green's Harbor in Plymouth Patent, to appease a broil between one Master Thomas and Master Blindman . . . when Master Blindman went by the worst." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 3d series, vol. 111, p. 106.

service, left for New Haven. Shortly after, he returned to England, where he died about 1675. Governor Winthrop speaks of Blinman as "a godly and able man," and Johnson calls him "a godly man, whose gifts and abilities to handle the word were not inferior to many others; labouring much against the errors of the times; of a sweet, humble, heavenly carriage." *

The Rev. Edward Bulkley succeeded Mr. Blinman as pastor of the Marshfield church, in 1642, and remained until 1658, when he removed to Concord, Massachusetts, and became his father's successor in the ministry there.†

The third church in the mother colony was organized at Scituate, nineteen miles north of Plymouth. This settlement was begun as early as 1628, by immigrants originally from the county of Kent, England.‡ One of their early cares was to build a meeting-house and obtain a preacher for the settlement.§ At exactly what time these objects were secured is not known, the earliest parish

* *Wonder-Working Prov.*, 169. † *Winsor's Duxbury*, 14.

‡ "William Gillson, Anthony Annable, Thomas Bird, Nathaniel Tilden, Edward Foster, Henry Rowley, and some others, were here before 1628." — *Deane's History of Scituate, Mass.*, p. 8.

§ The sentiment of the early New England colonists in relation to the erection of meeting-houses is expressed in the law of 1675, when it was "enacted by the Court, that there be a public house erected in every towne of this Government, for the towne comfortably to meet in to worship God," etc. — *Brigham's Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth*, p. 175.

records being lost. A meeting-house, however, was standing in 1633, and the Rev. Mr. Saxton, of Leeds, England — called by Mather “a studious and learned person and a great Hebrician” — is believed to have resided in the place and preached to the people some time between 1631 and 1634.* In September, 1634, the Rev. John Lothrop, from the Congregational church in London, whose sufferings and banishment for conscience’ sake have already been related,† arrived at Scituate, with about thirty of his people, who preferred banishment with their revered pastor ‡ to submission to the arbitrary and unscriptural requirements of English Episcopacy. It is not unlikely that Mr. Lothrop came to Scituate by pre-arrangement; for he was originally a minister in Kent, and may have been personally known to the first settlers, who

* Deane, 30, 167; *Magnalia*, vol. 1, p. 536, Hartford edition, 1820. Felt suggests that Giles Saxton may have been the same person called Peter Saxton. — *Ecc. Hist. New Eng.*, 1, 215, 216, 442. Deane says: “Mr. Giles Saxton was undoubtedly the first who officiated for any considerable term of time. Mr. Savage (Genealogical Dic.) thinks Deane is mistaken in his statement that Giles Saxton was at Scituate at all. He says, Peter Saxton was there in 1640. Farmer speaks doubtingly of Giles being at Scituate. — *Genealogical Register*. Mr. Saxton, according to Neal, returned to England during the civil wars. — *Hist. New Eng.*, vol. 1, p. 218.

† See *History of Congregationalism*, vol. III, chap. xiv.

‡ Mr. Lothrop, Lothrope, Lowthrop, Lathrop, Lawthrop, Laythrop — as his name is variously spelled — arrived at Boston, in the ship Griffin, September 18, 1634. — *Winthrop’s Hist. New Eng.*, 1, 143. He was at Plymouth on the 27th of September.

were "men of Kent."* However this may have been, arrangements were speedily made after his arrival for the organization of a church at Scituate and the settlement of Mr. Lothrop as its pastor. To this end, a number of persons (some thirteen in all) were dismissed from the church in Plymouth, on the 23d of November, "in case they joined in a body at Scituate;" † and these, with others, were "formed by covenant" into a Congregational church, in January, 1634-5, and Mr. Lothrop was chosen pastor, and Nathaniel Tilden and Henry Cobb, elders; and Richard Sealis, William Gillson and Thomas Besbedge or Bisbee, deacons of the church; and on the 19th of January the pastor was installed by the hands of the elders of the church. The simple and comprehensive covenant of this church reminds one of Mr. Jacob's, in London, and of the covenants of the early Separatist churches generally, being to this effect: ‡ "As a church of Christ, we, by the gracious

* Egerton, the parish in which Mr. Lothrop was settled before he removed to London, is near the centre of the county of Kent, and not above ten or a dozen miles from Tenterden, from which several of the first settlers came to Scituate, and still nearer to Ashford, from which place also one or more of them came.

† I suppose that these *thirteen* were a part of the *thirty* who originally belonged to Mr. Lothrop's church in London, and are said to have accompanied him to Scituate.

‡ *Deane*, 30, 59, 168, says the church was organized on the 18th of January, 1634-5, Old Style; but *Holmes*, quoting from Mr. Lothrop's manuscript records of the churches of Scituate and Barnstable, says: "The church was formed by covenant, 8 January, and Mr. Lothrop was installed 19 January, 1635." — *Annals*,

assistance of Christ, will walk in all the ways of God, that are and shall be revealed to us out of His word to be His ways; so far as God shall enable us," etc.

Though the church was thus harmoniously organized and provided with officers, it was not long before symptoms of discontent appeared among the people, though not at first on religious grounds.

At a session of the General Court held at New Plymouth the 3d of January, 1636-7, "Mr. Hath-erly, in the behalf of the church of Scituate, informed this Court that the place, for aught they can yet discern, is too strait for them to reside comfortably upon; that the lands adjacent are very stony, and not convenient to plant upon;

1, 228, note 5. This discrepancy is undoubtedly due to the confusion of Old and New Style reckoning. If Holmes had said the *eighteenth* of January, 1635, and Deane, the *eighth* of January, 1634-5, the discrepancy would have been removed at once, by understanding that one was dated Old Style and the other New, ten days being added to Old Style to make the date correspond with New Style. Though the weight of authority is with Holmes, the presumption is in favor of Deane; for Holmes says that the installation took place on the 19th of January, 1635—New Style, evidently. But eleven days between the organization of a church and the installation of a pastor who was on the ground would have been a very unusual, almost unprecedented thing in early Congregational history. The strong presumption therefore is, that if the church was organized and the pastor chosen on the 8th of January, he was installed the next day, the 9th; or if the church was organized and the pastor was elected on the 18th, Old Style, he was installed on the 19th, Old Style.

whereby they are disabled to receive any more neighbors for their more comfortable society." Whereupon it was "consented unto and agreed upon by the Court, that the said inhabitants of Scituate shall have liberty to seek out a convenient place for their residing within the colony," * etc. But, though the court had given the church permission to move, it was three or four years before they could agree upon a spot to which to remove. Many meetings were held; there was much discussion, and, as was common with the fathers of New England, much prayer for Divine direction and assistance. At length, in the autumn of 1639, the pastor and twenty-one of the male members — "being more than half the church" — with their families and several members of the congregation who were not communicants, some with families, decided to remove to Barnstable.

But before leaving, the church was careful to learn who were to remain at Scituate, and whether they were "meet to be left as a church by themselves." Accordingly, a meeting of the church was held, and all who proposed to remain were called upon to rise; when "about eight men" responded. Then the pastor propounded to the church, whether they judged these brethren meet to be left as a church by themselves; and the church answered in the affirmative. Then the pastor said to the brethren that desired to be a

* *Brigham's Laws, etc., of the Colony of New Plym., pp. 54-55.*

church, that they must covenant to walk together in the ways of God according to His revealed will. To this they answered that they would so do; and one of them answered, "for aught I know, in the same ways that we do now." With this the church expressed their satisfaction, and agreed to declare in public, on the Lord's day, "that these were separated and become a church." These brethren afterwards kept a day of fasting and prayer and entered into covenant with each other as a church; and this was soon after published on the Lord's day, by the pastor, who required these brethren to walk together in all the ways of God; and they all consented, and thus became a church of Christ.*

On the 11th of October a general movement was made by Mr. Lothrop and his friends towards Barnstable—several pioneers having preceded them and erected cabins. The safe arrival of the church at Barnstable was celebrated by a day of thanksgiving, including "praises to God in public" and feasting together—"some at Mr. Hull's, some at Mr. Mayo's, and some at Mr. Lombard's."† And on the 31st of the same month (October)

* William Vassall's account, in *Deane's Hist. Scituate*, 73-4.

† "After praises to God in public were ended, as the day was cold, we divided into three companies, to feast together; some at Mr. Hull's, some at Mr. Mayo's, and some at Brother Lombard's, Sr." The mention of these names is evidence that the Scituate brethren had been preceded by some pioneers who had made an opening in the wilderness for them. — Rev. Mr. Lothrop's Diary, in *Freeman's Ann. of Barnstable*, 11, 244-247.

Mr. Lothrop tells us, "a fast was held, to implore the grace of God to settle them here in church estate, and to unite them together in holy walking, and to make them faithful in keeping covenant with God and one another."

Coming in a body as a church, there was no occasion for reorganization; they had only some additional officers to elect and institute. Accordingly, we find in Mr. Lothrop's diary the following entries: "April 15, 1640, a day of fasting and prayer, on occasion of the investing of my brother Mayo with the office of a teaching elder; upon whom myself, Mr. Hull and Brother Cobb lay our hands; and for the Lord to find out a place for meeting, and that we may agree in it; and also, that we may agree about the division of lands." * These statements show with what care and prayer these good men arranged all their affairs, ecclesiastical and civil. Animated by a spirit like this, the church and the town increased and flourished

* *Ib.*, 247 and note 2. "Brother Mayo," here mentioned by Mr. Lothrop, was the Rev. John Mayo, afterwards first pastor of the church at Eastham, and subsequently of the second church in Boston. "Mr. Hull" was the Rev. Joseph Hull, one of the very first settlers of Barnstable. He was there when Mr. Lothrop's company arrived. He made the church some trouble by "joining himself with a company at Yarmouth, to be their pastor, contrary to the advice of a council of the Barnstable church." He and his wife were excommunicated from the Barnstable church for so doing. On acknowledgment of their fault, they were both soon restored. He afterwards removed to Maine, and near the time of his death, November 19, 1665, was a preacher at the Isle of Shoals. — *Freeman*, 11, 189, 256, and notes.

and enjoyed peace during Mr. Lothrop's ministry and life.*

For several years the church worshipped in private houses or in temporary accommodations—for, as late as March 24, 1644, Mr. Lothrop mentions in his diary "our meeting being at the end of Mr. Bursley's house;" but before the end of May, 1646, they had built a meeting-house and were occupying it.†

Mr. Lothrop remained at Barnstable until the time of his death, November 8, 1653. His loss was greatly lamented. He left behind him the savor of an eminently good name, and also a numerous posterity—six sons and at least two daughters.‡ During his ministry, the discipline of the church seems to have been very thorough; extending even to the baptized children of the church who were not themselves communicants. The outward forms of religious service—and we have no reason to question but the inward spirit also—were carefully regarded by this church. Not only were the regular church services held, but many special services of thanksgiving, and of fasting

* In 1640 there appear to have been forty-five male inhabitants in the township; the larger part of them, doubtless, with families. In 1641 a number of families moved into the place from Scituate, Lynn, Sandwich, and Plymouth. In 1643 there were forty-five voters in the town, and sixty-one persons liable to bear arms. — *Freeman*, 254–57, compared with 243–44.

† "June 1st [1646] being the second Sabbath of our meeting in our new meeting-house." — Lothrop's Diary, in *Freeman*.

‡ *Freeman*, I, 208, 209; II, 262.

and prayer, having reference to their own personal affairs, those of their adopted country, and even of their friends in England.* These extra religious observances seem to have been almost a specialty of Mr. Lothrop's church, even in those days of special religious services.

We are sorry to be obliged to add that the ten years immediately following the death of Mr. Lothrop were years of disquiet to the church in Barnstable. The Rev. William Sargeant and Rev. John Smith officiated successively, but not with the general approbation of the church. Brethren became alienated, and finally divided—"John Smith and others from the Barnstable church forming themselves into a separate and distinct church," to the great grief of the old church and all the neighboring churches; by whom the separation was pronounced "disorderly and scandalous," and for which the seceders, after various efforts to bring them back, were finally (June 4, 1664) excluded from the fellowship of the neighboring churches, by the act of a council convened on the previous September. These disorderly proceedings troubled neighboring churches, as well as the Barnstable church. Mr. Cotton of Plymouth †

* Mr. Freeman's exhaustive account of Barnstable furnishes many illustrations of these statements. See particularly vol. II, pp. 245, 246, 247, 256 and note, 259, 260, 261, and 262.

† *Freeman*, II, 262-68; *Felt, Hist. N. E.*, II, 315; MS. papers in *Mass. Hist. Soc.'s Library*; *M. H. S. Coll.*, I, iv, 189; XIII, iv, 118; *Baylies*, II, 283.

speaks of "the unhappy differences then [1654] subsisting in the church of Barnstable, which much affected the [Plymouth] church."

But, to return from this necessary digression to the church at Scituate. In 1641 this church invited the Rev. Charles Chauncy to become their pastor, but not with entire unanimity. Mr. Chauncy was an immersionist, insisting on administering baptism to children as well as adults by immersion only. He also insisted that the Lord's supper should be administered in the evening of every Lord's Day. On these points he differed from the New England churches of that day; and the persistent advocacy of these peculiarities excited an opposition among his own people of a very serious and enduring character,* which finally rent the church in twain and led to the establishment of a second church in Scituate, February 2, 1642.†

There appears to have been more than an average amount of intelligence, education and wealth among the first settlers of Scituate;‡ but they

* According to *Winthrop*, only one church in New England was disposed to imitate Mr. Chauncy's example—that of Mr. Leveredge, in Sandwich.—*Hist. New Eng.*, 1, 331.

† *Deane's Scituate*, 34.

‡ "Among the first settlers of Scituate (not to mention here their learned pastors) we may name Mr. Vassall, Mr. Cudworth, Mr. Hatherly, Wm. Gillson, Samuel Hinckley (father of the Governor) Isaac Robinson (son of the Rev. John Robinson of Leyden), Anthony Annable, Thomas King, and Thomas Clap—as men eminently qualified, not only to transact the municipal

were not a very harmonious community. They disagreed about the location of their first meeting-house; and the controversy was continued for successive years, until it became chronic and incurable. This drove away their first minister, Mr. Saxton, and seriously annoyed Mr. Lothrop. Next came the baptismal controversy, which, having been once undergone by Mr. Lothrop and his friends in London, they were disposed to avoid a second time, by pleading any reasonable excuse—as the want of “hay-lands” or meadows—for leaving the settlement in 1639, to constitute a new church in Barnstable. Subsequently other matters of disagreement were introduced. The settlement of Mr. Chauncy, in 1641, was against the wishes of a large number of the church, including some of its ablest and most influential members; and his entire ministry, to 1654, was a scene of agitation and controversy.* Though a learned and eminently pious man, Mr. Chauncy was a man of strong will, very excitable, and perhaps a little overbearing in his carriage, and soon got involved in a controversy with Mr. Vassall, a man of decided ability, and withal a very cool

business of the settlement, but to take part in the government of the colony. We may add Edward Foster, John Hoar, and John Saffin, who were well educated lawyers.”—*Deane*, 92. Scituate early took the lead of all the towns in the colony in rates and in levies of men.—*Description of Scituate in Hist. Coll.*, iv, 2d series, 224. In 1658 Scituate was rated at £18 3s, while Rehoboth was rated at £15 3s, and Plymouth at £11 2s.—*Freeman*, i, 247.

* *Deane*, 59-88, 172-4.

head, and a full match for his pastor in a controversy. This dispute was carried on with much earnestness, until it completely divided the church and resulted in the organization of a second church in Scituate, which always claimed to be the first church, on the ground that Mr. Chauncy and his followers had fallen away from the covenant of the church. Mr. Chauncy, on his part, not only excluded these opposing brethren—being nearly equal in number to those who held with him—from the communion of his church, but, for a long time after their separation and organization, refused to recognize them as a church; calling them “the society,” and finally, “our neighbor church of Christ in Scituate.” The controversy was kept up in some form for more than thirty years, and has been renewed in modern times.*

The next church which sprang directly from the Plymouth church was that of Nauset, afterwards called Eastham. This is called by Cotton, in his history of Plymouth church, “the third church which came forth as it were out of our bowels.” It was, indeed, the third which was wholly formed from the Plymouth church, but really the fifth formed in part or wholly from the old church.

* *Deane*, 35. See the details of the ancient controversy in *Deane*, 50-89, and of the modern controversy in *Turner and Wight's Correspondence*, Boston, 1845.

Eastham originally included a territory about fifteen miles long and two and a half wide, from sea to sea, near the middle of the peninsula of Cape Cod.* This tract of land was reserved, with two other tracts, by the "Purchasers, or Old Comers," when the patent taken out in Governor Bradford's name was surrendered to the Colony, March 2, 1640-1.† But no movement was made towards a settlement of this reservation until 1643-44. About that time there arose much disquietude in Plymouth at the frequent removals from the town on account of "the straitness and barrenness of the place;" and "the church began seriously to think whether it were not better jointly to remove to some other place, than to be thus weakened, and as it were insensibly dissolved."‡ There were many meetings and much discussion, and no doubt much praying about this matter. Some argued that they were well enough where they were, and that it was not want or necessity which impelled men to move away from Plymouth, but a desire to enrich themselves. Others, however, were earnest for a removal; and the church finally consented, rather than have any further diminution of their number, to remove in a body, if a fit place could be found; and a committee was raised to look out such a place. Several places

* *Freeman's Cape Cod*, II, 350.

† *Bradford*, 426 and note; *Freeman*, II, 347.

‡ *Bradford*, 425; *Cotton*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, IV, 112-13.

were proposed, but Nauset, some thirty-five miles across the bay in a southeasterly direction from Plymouth, was finally selected. The majority of the church, however, doubted the expediency of a removal thither until a more careful examination of the territory had been made. A second delegation was therefore sent to Nauset, who, after careful examination, reported, that the territory was insufficient to accommodate even the church as it then was, without any provision for an increase of numbers; also, that it was too remote from all society, on one side of the colony, and wholly unfit for the metropolis. So the church relinquished the plan of removing in a body. Nevertheless, so eager were several of the brethren for a change, that they insisted on pursuing the undertaking, and offered to pay all the purchase money for the land. Finding that these brethren could not be persuaded to relinquish the scheme, the church finally very reluctantly consented to their removal. Among those who were foremost in this movement were Governor Prince—or Prence, as he wrote his own name—Deacon John Doane, Nicholas Snow, Josiah Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley and Edward Bangs; several of whom were very influential and “desirable” men in the church.

The settlement was begun in April, 1644, and the new town was incorporated in June, 1646. A church seems to have been organized immediately on the settlement of the place, and a small

meeting-house, twenty feet square, with thatched roof, was erected. Being remote from the other settlements and surrounded by Indians, the meeting-house was made to answer the purpose of a block-house as well as a church, being pierced with port-holes for musketry. There was no occasion, however, to use the house for defensive purposes; for the just and kind treatment of the natives so secured their friendship that they not only refrained from molesting the new settlers, but were kept back from subsequently joining any of the warlike movements of the surrounding tribes against the Whites. The Rev. John Mayo, from the church in Barnstable, was the first minister of Nauset, and remained there nine years, until called to the second church in Boston. Though the settlers had a meeting-house and preaching among them from the first, they had no pastor until 1672, when Samuel Treat, son of Robert Treat, governor of Connecticut, was ordained. He remained pastor of this church forty-five years, till his death, on the 18th of March, 1716-17, aged sixty-nine years. He was a graduate of Harvard College in 1669; a man of talents, a sound Calvinist and a devoted pastor, as well as a faithful and able preacher. He spoke and wrote the Indian language with facility, and was uncommonly successful in the conversion of the Indians, who loved him as a father.* He was

* In 1685 the Christian Indians within the limits of Mr. Treat's parish were estimated at five hundred adults and thrice that number of children.—*Baylies' Hist. Plym.*, II, 221.

the grandfather of Robert Treat Paine, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The organization of these several churches, and of this last one particularly, was very grievous to the mother church, and drew from the excellent Bradford this mournful record: "Thus was this poor church left, like an ancient mother, grown old, and forsaken of her children (though not in their affections) yet in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness. Her ancient members being most of them worn away by death, and these of later time being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow, left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich, became herself poor."* But though the old

Mr. Baylies gives some illustrations of the doctrinal views of Mr. Treat, which prove him to have been a Calvinist "after the most straitest sect."

There is a tradition in the family—and I believe on record, though I have not met with it—which forcibly illustrates the attachment of the Indians to their minister and friend. The death of their pastor occurred at the time of "the great snow," in the winter of 1716-17; when, according to Judge Sewall, so much snow fell as was "terribly surprising to see;" when all the roads were blocked and filled up, and the whole country was buried in snow, so that ordinary locomotion was impossible. Under these circumstances the body of Mr. Treat had to remain unburied some days, until the Indians, with laborious kindness, dug a tunnel through the snow from the house to the graveyard, the distance of a quarter of a mile or more, through which they bore the beloved remains to their last resting place.

* *Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 427; *Cotton*, 111-12; *Freeman*, II, 347-58.

church and town of Plymouth were thus weakened by emigrations, the colony itself was enlarged and benefited.

In the autumn of 1637 "a plantation was begun at Tecticut [Titicut — Taunton] by a gentlewoman, an ancient maid, one Miss Poole. She went late thither, and endured much hardship, and lost much cattle." *

Miss Elizabeth Poole, here referred to, an English lady of family and fortune, came from Taunton, England, when about forty-eight years old, first to Dorchester. Thence she removed into the distant wilderness of Titicut, surrounded by Indians, and distant some twenty-six miles from Plymouth, the nearest settlement of Whites. She was accompanied by one or more ministers and a considerable company, including several of her own name — doubtless relatives. Her grand object was, to plant a town where civil liberty might be enjoyed, and where a church might worship God agreeably to the simple directions of His word, without molestation from any source. The land on which she settled was fairly purchased of the Indians who claimed to own it, and even purchased more than once of rival claimants. A Congregational church of "some ten or twenty" members was organized, either in 1637 or early in 1638, and the Rev. William Hooke was ordained as its

* *Winthrop's Jour.*, i, 251.

pastor, and the Rev. Nicholas Street, its teacher. "Master Bishop, a schoolmaster, and one Parker, a husbandman," were delegated to ordain the pastor, and then he and they together ordained the teacher. Mr. Hooke was a man of learning and scholarly habits, a polished writer, and an eloquent preacher. And Mr. Street also maintained a high reputation in the colony. The pastor remained in Taunton only a short time, removing to New Haven in 1640 or 1641, where he was ordained teacher, with the Rev. John Davenport as pastor of the church there. In the year 1655 or 1656, Mr. Hooke returned to England and became a favorite of the great Protector, with whom he was connected by marriage. He was made domestic chaplain to His Highness, with the learned John Howe, Nicholas Lockyer, Peter Sterry, Hugh Peter and other distinguished men. He was also appointed Master of the Savoy Hospital, and, had Cromwell carried out his purpose of having a separate church in his own family, Mr. Hooke was to have been his pastor. But with the death of the Protector fell all Mr. Hooke's fair prospects, and he became again a persecuted dissenting minister; was ejected, silenced, and suffered other troubles for conscience, sake, to the time of his death, March 21, 1677-8, aged seventy-seven years.*

* *Trumbull*, 1, 292, 299, 310; *Winthrop*, 1, 252 and note; *Baylies' Mem. of Plym. Colony*, 1, 283-295; *Bacon's Historical Discourses*, 62-73. The date of Mr. Hooke's removal to New Haven is not certainly ascertained. But *Trumbull* says that he

On the removal of Mr. Hooke, Mr. Street became the sole minister of Taunton, and remained with the church until he too went to New Haven; where, on the 26th of November, 1659, he was ordained teacher of that church. This office he held until 1667, when Mr. Davenport removed to Boston, leaving Mr. Street in sole charge of the church; which he retained to the day of his death, April 22, 1674. He was, however, the last "teacher" of that church. Mr. Street has left behind him the reputation of a pious, modest, judicious man; of good learning and acceptable pulpit abilities. He probably left Plymouth Colony during that "dark hour of eclipse upon the light of the gospel in the churches of the colony," as Mather calls it—that "hour of temptation, wherein the fondness of the people for the prophesyings of the brethren produced those discouragements unto their ministers, that almost all the ministers left the colony." *

Another settlement was made at Sandwich (Pocasset) by emigrants from Saugus, in 1637, and the

returned to England "about the year 1655," after having been teacher in the New Haven church "about fourteen years." The date of his death, as given by Trumbull ("the 21st of March, 1667"), is evidently a misprint. Baylies says 1677, and Allen and Bacon say 1678. Both Bacon and Baylies give quite full accounts of Hooke, especially Bacon. *Felt* (1, 443) says Hooke was installed at New Haven "about 1644-5."

* *Magnalia*, 1, 59; *Baylies*, 1, 295; *Bacon's Disc.*, 155-6.

town was incorporated by the Plymouth authorities in 1639. A Congregational church was organized, and the Rev. William Leveredge was ordained pastor on or before 1640. How long he remained, is not stated; though Morton says "a considerable time;" probably till 1652. He was greatly interested in the conversion of the Indians, and in 1656 was employed by the commissioners of the United Colonies as a missionary among the different tribes.*

The first settlement of Yarmouth (Mattakeese) was made in 1638, by the Rev. "Mr. Batchellor, late pastor at Saugus," and a small and poor company—all poor men—who "finding the difficulty, gave it over, and others undertook it." These, too, were chiefly emigrants from Lynn, who made a permanent settlement here in the summer of 1639, organized a Congregational church and had the Rev. Marmaduke Mathews as their pastor. †

Mention has now been made of the several churches which grew up within the territorial limits of the "Old Colony" during the twenty

* *Winthrop*, 1, 253; *Baylies*, 1, 290-297; *v*, 19; *Felt*, 1, 191, 247, 291.

† *Winthrop's Jour.*, 1, 260, 273, 306; *Baylies' Plym. Col.*, 1, 301-304. Winthrop says that Mr. Batchellor, though "about seventy-six years of age, yet walked thither on foot in a very hard season."

years of prosperity which followed the settlement of Massachusetts Bay.* None of these churches were very large or rich; but they were sound in the faith, respectable, and influential for good in their several neighborhoods. And so it was with the old colony as a Commonwealth. Territorially small, with a barren soil, and a population limited in number and by no means distinguished for wealth or high culture, and from its very location incapable of ever becoming a leading member of the confederate colonies—yet, by reason of its firm religious foundations, the plain and practical character, and the solid, reliable good sense of its people generally, the Old Colony was able to hold up her head, and command the respect of all around, whether Whites or Indians, and to do her full share of the great and difficult work of

* In 1638, that honest and intelligent old chronicler, Gov. Bradford, wrote: "It pleased God, in these times so to blesse y^e country with such access and confluence of people into it [the Plymouth Colony] as it was thereby much enriched, and catle of all kinds stood at a high rate for diverse years together. Kine were sould at £20, and some at £25 a peece; yea, some times at £28; a cow-calfe usually at £10, a milch goate at £3, and some at £4; and femall kids at 30 s., and often at 40 s. a peece. By which means, y^e anciente planters which had any stock begane to grow in their estate. Corne also wente at a round rate, viz., 6 s. a bushell."

But all this prosperity—inflated prosperity—came to a sudden and ruinous end about 1640. This was anticipated by the wiser heads, as Bradford tells us: "Some well fore-sawe that these high prises of corne and catle would not long continue." — *Hist. Plym. Plantation*, 365-6.

establishing the New England colonies on a firm foundation.

Plymouth continued its very respectable colonial life for seventy eventful years. But in 1692 it ceased to be an independent government, being united to Massachusetts by a new charter from William and Mary. This new charter was, however, a very distasteful one to the old Plymouth colonists, and was far from being entirely satisfactory to the colonists of the Bay; for though it made Massachusetts a Province, and added to its old domain all New Plymouth, all of Maine, Nova Scotia, and the territory between Maine and Nova Scotia as far northward as the river St. Lawrence; also, the Elizabeth Islands, and the neighboring islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard,* still, Massachusetts was deprived of several essential privileges granted in the old charter. Under that, all the magistrates and officers of State were chosen annually by the General Assembly, and the militia was under their control. But the new charter gave the appointment of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of State to the Crown; and all judges, justices and sheriffs were nominated by the Governor, with the advice of the Council. The Crown controlled the militia also, and, through the Governor, had a negative upon the choice of Councillors and upon all laws and elections made by the Council and the House of Representatives.

* *Hutchinson's Mass. Bay*, 1, 406-16; *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 436; *Adams' Hist. N. E.*, 154-57.

No wonder, then, that the new charter, with all its enlargements of territorial bounds, failed to please Massachusetts; since it took from the people important privileges, which had been enjoyed by them for more than sixty years.

At the time of the union with Massachusetts, in 1692, Plymouth Colony contained about thirteen thousand inhabitants, dispersed in seventeen incorporated towns and three plantations. The towns were: Plymouth, Duxbury, Marshfield, Scituate, Bridgewater, Middleborough, Taunton, Rehoboth, Dartmouth, Freetown, Little Compton, Swansey, Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Eastham and Falmouth; and the plantations were: Monamoyet, Rochester and Bristol.*

Now in all these seventeen towns, except Dartmouth, Freetown and Swansey, Congregational churches had been instituted prior to the union. And in all these towns, except Eastham and Swansey, and in two at least of what were mere plantations in 1692, there are still to be found evangelical Congregational churches; and eight or nine of these churches are continuations of the original churches. The first church of Plymouth itself has, it is true, so far departed from the faith of the fathers as to be now reckoned among the Unitarian churches of the land. But in its place

* Little Compton and Bristol have since been set off to Rhode Island, leaving sixteen of these towns and two of the plantations still within the bounds of Old Plymouth Colony. — *Baylies' Hist. Plym.*, iv, 143-5; *Belknap's Hist. New Hamp.*, i, 18, note.

have risen up four other churches professing the Pilgrim faith and polity, with an aggregate of five hundred and forty-nine communicants. In Barnstable, we find not only a representative of the original church of 1639—or as the church claims, of 1616, the date of the London church from which many of them and their first pastor emigrated—but likewise, two additional Congregational churches, with a total membership of one hundred and eighty-three souls. In Marshfield, too, there are now two Congregational churches, instead of one, and one hundred and twelve communicants. In Taunton the old church still lives and prospers, and has growing around her four sister churches, the combined membership of all amounting to eight hundred and sixty-four. The first Congregational church of Scituate (1635) survives, though it has had to pass through many trials of its faith. It reported fifty-nine communicants in 1878. The old church of Yarmouth also still lives and prospers, and has a little sister church growing up at her side; the two containing one hundred and eighty-seven members. The old Congregational church of Sandwich, of the same date as Yarmouth (1639), is flourishing in its old age, and reports one hundred and seventy-five communicants.

Thus, in the eight towns in which churches had been planted before 1640, and in which Congregational churches still exist, we find, in 1878, a

membership of two thousand two hundred twenty-one souls. And in the nine other towns of the colony in which churches had been planted subsequently to 1640, but previous to 1692, we find at this time fifteen Congregational churches, with a membership of seventeen hundred and twenty; making a total in the seventeen towns, of four thousand six hundred and ninety-two communicants. These figures — dry though they may be regarded — tell the story as no mere words could, of the permanency and prosperity of Congregational principles and institutions in the old home of the Pilgrim Fathers.*

* Cotton Mather, after relating some of the difficulties through which this mother colony of New England successfully passed, says: "After these many difficulties were thus a little surmounted, the inhabitants of this colony prosecuted their affairs at so vigorous and successful a rate, that they not only fell into a comfortable way, both of planting and of trading, but also in a few years there was a notable number of towns to be seen settled among them, and very considerable churches walking, so far as they had attained, in the faith and order of the gospel. These churches flourished so considerably, that in the year 1642 there were above a dozen ministers, and some of those ministers were stars of the first magnitude, shining in their several orbs among them." — *Magnalia*, vol. 1, bk. i, p. 57, ed. 1820.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PURITANS AND CONGREGATIONALISTS OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND IN 1608-1649.

To readers familiar only with the more modern history of Virginia and Maryland, it may be a surprise to hear that there were both Puritans and Congregationalists among the earliest immigrants to those colonies, and even organized and prosperous Congregational churches in them. The very first ships which brought immigrants from England to Virginia had Puritans among their passengers. And their letters home were so encouraging that large numbers of their friends proposed at once to emigrate to Virginia. So extensive, in fact, was this movement, that Archbishop Bancroft was alarmed lest the Puritans should become too numerous and powerful in America, and procured an order of Council, December 8, 1608, to stop all emigrants for Virginia except those who had been examined and licensed; and making it a criminal offence to lodge or victual any who had not the royal license. But notwithstanding this prohibition, many Puritans made their way to Virginia.* As early as 1618, Captain Christopher Lawne had made a Puritan settlement on an island near the

* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, Jan., 1609; *Rapin's Hist. Eng.*, 11, bk. xviii, p. 176; *Palfrey's Hist. N. E.*, 1, 243.

mouth of James river, subsequently called the "Isle of Wight Plantation." Lawne, however, died before November 3, 1620, and we know very little more about him or his settlement in Virginia.*

As early as 1618-19, Francis Blackwell, once an elder in the Amsterdam Separatist Church, gathered a company of a hundred and fifty or more emigrants and sailed for Virginia. These were, doubtless, mostly Separatists. And though the great body of them died on their passage or immediately after their arrival in Virginia, and among them Blackwell himself, it is quite likely that some of them lived to be permanent settlers in the colony.† That there must have been men of their sentiments in the colony at or about the date of this emigration, is fairly inferable from the repeated reference to Nonconformist ministers in

* *English Colonization of America*, p. 279; *History of Virginia Company*, p. 194. There was a Christopher Lawne in the Amsterdam Separatist Church, under the pastoral care of Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson, about 1603. — See *Hanbury's Memorials*, I, 100 —, 238 — etc.; also, *Hist. of Cong.*, vol. III, p. 232. This Capt. Lawne may have been the son of that old Separatist, or the very man himself.

† *Bradford*, 36-40; *Hanbury*, I, 148; *Neill's Hist. Va. Company*. Cushman, in his letter to the Leyden brethren (in *Bradford*), under date of London, May 8, anno 1619, reports that there were in all one hundred and eighty persons in Blackwell's vessel, and that "they were packed together like herings," and that they died of the flux and want of fresh water. *Neill* says that Blackwell's company were Nonconformists of Presbyterian, rather than Independent sympathies. But on what authority does he say this?

the colony. Thus, Governor Yeardley reported in 1619, that "for ministers to instruct the people, he found only three authorized [and] two others who never received their orders" — that is, were not churchmen. And the General Assembly of Virginia, in describing the condition of the colony between 1607 and 1609, say: "Ministers there were but not in Orders."*

In 1620 Edward Bennet, a London merchant, made a settlement in the Isle of Wight county, Va. Among his associates were Robert and Richard Bennet, Thomas Ayres, and Thomas and Richard Wiseman. They were all Puritans; and they may have built the Smithfield church, which was standing in 1876. Their first minister was the Rev. William Bennet, who remained with them till 1623. It may have been to this settlement that the Rev. Henry Jacob was called in 1624 — perhaps the most able and influential Congregationalist of his age next to John Robinson, and the founder of the first permanent Congregational church in London. We only know that Mr. Jacob accepted the call and removed immediately to Virginia. But unfortunately he lived only a short time after his arrival. Whether long enough to organize a Congregational church, we are not

* *Hist. Va. Company*, 138. Yeardley himself was suspected of Puritanism. His two sons, Argoll and Francis, were certainly on the parliamentary side during the civil wars. — *Hist. Va. Co.*, 134-142; *Calendar Colonial State Papers*, April, 1619-1624; *Brief Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia*, p. 68.

informed; but from his enterprising character, his earnest piety, and his devotion to the cause for which he had sacrificed all his worldly prospects, we cannot doubt but that he did what he could for Congregationalism in the country of his adoption.*

Daniel Gookin, who emigrated to Virginia from Ireland in 1621—the father of Daniel Gookin, who came to New England in 1644—was probably a Puritan. And the “fifty men of his own, and thirty passengers, well furnished,” with whom he settled in the neighborhood of Newport News, Va., were also, it is presumed, of the same persuasion. And of the same general character, probably, were more or less of the “forty men for Mr Gookin and the thirty passengers” who arrived April 10, 1623, in the ship *Providence*, owned by Mr. Gookin and commanded by Captain Clarke, the old pilot of the *Mayflower*.

From all these facts we may reasonably infer that during the first years of the Virginia colony very many Puritans † must have found their way to

* See *Hist. Cong.*, vol. III, pp. 228–9 and 372; *Bradford's Hist. Plym. Colony*, 30–42; *Hanbury's Memorials*, I, 148–49; *Hist. Va. Company of London*, 194. The plantation established by the Bennets in 1620 must have prospered, judging from the number of persons killed there by the Indians in the great massacre of 1622; viz., fifty-four persons, chiefly men! more than at any other plantation in the colony, with the single exception of “Martin's Hundred,” which lost seventy-eight persons in all.—*Virginia Colony Records*, 344–46,

† *Purchas*, IV, 1787.

that colony.* And though the arbitrary decrees of the High Commission Court were from the first

* *Terra Mariæ*, 75, 76; *Va. Co. Recs.*, 133; *Calendar of State Papers*, Feb, 20, 1623; *Winthrop*, 11, 164-5. See *Smith's Hist. Va.*, for the names of some of the earliest colonists, vol. 1, pp. 153, 172, 203; or *Smith's True Relation*, Deane's ed., Pref. xliii-xlv; *Calendar of State Papers*, April 7 and 14, 1623. Among these were certainly a number of Puritan, and even Separatists' names, as: Throgmorton, Studley, Bruster or Brewster, Jacob, Brookes, Robinson, Cooke, Martin, Browne, Clark, White, Johnson, Morton.

Neill gives also the name of Stephen Hopkins, who was in the company of 1600-10, and assisted the chaplain, Buck, in conducting religious services. — *Hist. Va. Co.*, 34. See also *Strachy's* account of the Sea Venture's shipwreck on the Bermudas. Robert Hunt was the chaplain of the first colonists, of 1600-7. Daniel Gookin, Sr., was a native of Kent, England; but removed to Ireland, near Cork, and made a contract with the Virginia Company in 1620, to transport cows and goats to Virginia. — *Va. Co. Recs.*, 196, 218, 240. Mrs. Mary, the daughter of Hugh Crouch, assigned to Daniel Gookin, in July, 1622, one hundred and fifty acres of land at "Newport News." — *Ib.*, 314.

Captain Samuel Matthews, who settled in Virginia as early as 1617, and became one of the most influential men in the colony, and in 1637 was reputed to be the owner of the best estate in Virginia, valued at £60,000 — seems to have been somewhat Puritanical in his sentiments; as was also Sir John Zouch, another influential colonist; for, in a letter addressed to Sir John Wolstenholme, May 25, 1635, Matthews expresses the hope that the colony might have "some religious, worthy governor (Sir John Zouch a Puritan wished for), which will make the country flourish!" But Harvey said, "Sir John Zouch ought not to be allowed to return into Virginia, for he is of the Puritan sect, and of a factious disposition." See a long note in the Aspinwall Papers, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iv, s. iv, pp. 131-149. Matthews' Puritanism is not necessarily disproved by his enmity towards the Congregationalists, ascribed to him by Hammond, in his *Leah and Rachel*, for Puritanism and Congregationalism were not always as good friends as they should have been.

theoretically the ecclesiastical law of Virginia, yet, according to Buck, the first chaplain of the colony, they were little else than a dead letter to the time of Governor Harvey's despotic reign; so that, for more than twenty years, down to about 1630, there was not a single case of severe treatment of any colonist for the non-observance of church ordinances or rites.* Harvey was disposed to revive the obsolete ecclesiastical laws of England. But even he commissioned Captain Nathaniel Bass or Basse, in March, 1631-2, to invite, particularly, the inhabitants of New England to emigrate to Virginia; and authorized him to offer Delaware Bay to them as a place of settlement.†

Governor Berkley (1642-) though personally the antipode of Harvey, followed his predecessor's example in his efforts to enforce uniformity in religion, and insisted on the doctrines of Laud as the sole rule and guide of the colony in matters ecclesiastical, and on the enforcement of prescribed penalties on Dissenters; and laws were made by the Assembly, to strengthen the governor's oppressive

* *The History of Virginia*, by John Buck, vol. 11, p. 28. Petersburg, 1805. Governor Harvey arrived in Virginia after a long and tedious passage, April 15, 1630; and was driven out of the colony, and impeached for his rapacity and tyranny, in 1635. But he was restored to office by the king, and remained in Virginia until 1640. — *Cal. State Papers*, April 15 and May 29, 1630, July 14, 1635, and May 6, 1640.

† *History Virginia Company*, 194. Capt. Nath. Basse was one of the Virginia Council under Gov. Harvey, 1630 and 1631. — *Calendar of Colonial State Papers*, 322.

hands against Dissenters.* But previous to about 1642, it is quite evident that a very considerable number of Puritans — or persons inclined towards a more spiritual system than was fashionable at that time in the Church of England — had found their way to Virginia, and had become a pretty important element in that colony.†

As early as 1639, the attention of the New England colonists was specially turned towards Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and some of the West India islands, as promising fields for Christian settlements. The fertility of those regions, contrasted with the comparative barrenness of these more northern countries, weighed heavily in their favor. And even so good a friend of Puritanism and New England as Lord Say, encouraged a movement of these colonists southward, on the ground that New England should be regarded as merely a temporary resting place, and that when a better country was opened, it was their duty and privilege to occupy that country. This argument was of course met by counter considerations, and the proposal strenuously resisted by leading New England men. They argued that, though the planting of churches in those more southern

* *Buck*, II, 66, 67, 75.

† The expressed anxiety of the early colonists to secure good and faithful Christian ministers, and the repeated assurance given that the ministers should be well supported, is strongly suggestive of the presence of prosperous Puritanism among these colonists. — See *History Virginia Company*, *passim*.

regions was highly desirable, and a work in which good men should willingly labor, yet that it should not be done on such considerations as had been suggested, nor in a way to weaken and depopulate New England; for God had so owned and blessed this enterprise, that it would be wrong and dangerous to bring up an ill report upon this "goodly land," and to discourage the hearts of the people here. It was further said that it would be well for men to consider the risks incurred by themselves and their wives and their children, in leaving such a place of rest and safety as God had provided for them here, and exposing themselves to the dangers of so potent an enemy as the Spaniard. And finally, that it was proper to pause and consider the consequences likely to ensue from placing themselves under such colonial governors as England would probably send to the countries to which they were invited. But these considerations, though they prevented extensive emigration southward at that time, did not prevent all emigration from New England to a more genial soil and climate.*

But the attention of the Massachusetts people was most effectually called to Virginia by the arrival at Boston, in the summer of 1642, of Mr. Philip Bennet, "with letters from many of the well disposed people of the upper new farms of

* *Winthrop*, 1, 331-33; 11, 8, 13, 33, 38; *Bancroft*, 1, 197, 206, ed. of 1838; *Bradford's Hist. of Plym.*, 27-31.

Virginia"—Upper Norfolk, afterwards called Nansemond County, on the James river, near Hampton Roads. "These letters were addressed to the elders here, bewailing their sad condition [in Virginia] for want of the means of salvation, and earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom, upon experience of their gifts and godliness, they might call to office;" there being three parishes then in Virginia which were ready to receive Christian pastors from New England.* On

* *Winthrop*, II, 77-8, 95-6, 164. The letter brought by Mr. Philip Bennet, signed by Richard Bennet, Daniel Gookin, John Hyll, and others to the number of seventy-one persons, is given by *Felt* (I, 471-2) from the Dunster Manuscripts, in the possession of the Mass. Hist. Society; and a most excellent Christian letter it is. Gookin afterwards removed to Massachusetts and became one of the most distinguished men in the colony. He was one of the best, as well as bravest of men, and was made Major General of the Massachusetts troops. He was an enlightened and persevering friend of the Indians, and wrote a history of the Indians of New England and of the New England colonies. He died March 10, 1686-7, aged seventy-five years, and his tombstone may still be seen in Cambridge.

Similar applications were made from Barbadoes and other West India Islands. — *Felt*, I, 476. William Durand, of Upper Norfolk, Va., also wrote a long letter, full of good sense and sound religious sentiments, to Rev. John Davenport, of New Haven, dated February 15, 1642, expressing the hope that God would set up in Virginia the true practice and profession of religion, and requesting Mr. Davenport to send them ministers to guide and instruct them. This letter also may be found in the *Dunster Manuscripts*. In it, Durand tells Mr. Davenport that the project of organizing new parishes in Virginia and inviting Puritan divines to settle in them, "hath long been known throughout the whole country of Virginia, and no man openeth his mouth to hinder it or speak against it but one Fawknor, a wicked priest of

the receipt of these letters, which were openly read in Boston upon "a lecture day," great interest was at once awakened, and the elders of the churches met, appointed a day of fasting and prayer, as was then the custom on all important occasions, and then deputed three of their number to go as missionaries to Virginia: Mr. Phillips of Watertown, Mr. Tompson of Braintree, and Mr. Miller of Rowley. These gentlemen were selected, not alone for their fitness for the work, but because each of their churches had two ministers and could therefore better spare one. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Miller declining to go, Mr. Knowles of Watertown took Mr. Phillips' place, and Mr. James of New Haven, formerly of Charlestown, took Mr. Miller's place.

After a long, wearisome, dangerous journey and voyage of eleven weeks' duration, in tempestuous weather, the ministers arrived out, and were most cordially received and most hospitably entertained by the good people of Virginia who had sent for them; and were the means of greatly stirring the minds and hearts of the people in relation to their religious interests. But the Church of England being the established religion of the colony, the authorities ultimately interfered and forbade public preaching by the New England Congregationalists. This, however, did not prevent the people from resorting to them in private houses. Yet

Baal." Durand and Bennet both refer to a previous application, similar to this, made by the Virginia Christians, August 1, 1641.

even this was disallowed; and the ministers were finally driven from the colony, after five or six months' stay; a law having been procured, banishing all nonconformists to the Church of England. This law drove away, not only the Puritan ministers, but ultimately "divers godly-disposed persons," who came from thence to New England in order to enjoy freedom of conscience in the worship of God.

The northern Christians of that day regarded the terrible massacre of the Whites by the Indians, on the 18th of April, 1644, and the great mortality which followed soon after the violent expulsion of their ministers and friends from the colony of Virginia, as especial judgments from heaven; and so, according to Winthrop, did some of the prosecutors themselves.*

Though the New England ministers were thus prematurely and summarily driven from Virginia, their mission was by no means fruitless. Quite a religious awakening followed their labors of love. A Congregational church was organized, and a faithful pastor and a godly elder were raised up among the Virginians themselves; and in a few years the church numbered one hundred and

* *Winthrop*, 11, 185; *Hubbard*, 410-12; *Holmes' Annals*, 1, 276. All the Indians within six hundred miles confederated to exterminate all the Whites; and made a simultaneous attack upon them, killing in the course of two days—the 18th and 19th of April, 1644—from three hundred to five hundred of the English settlers.

eighteen communicants; while it was computed that not less than a thousand persons, including some of the governor's council, were favorably inclined towards the doctrine and discipline of the Congregational church there.*

The first pastor of this church was none other than the governor's own chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Harrison. On the first arrival of the New England ministers in Virginia, this chaplain shared the prejudices of the governor, and received the good men from the north with anything but cordiality. He even secretly labored to have them expelled from the colony. But after witnessing the terrible Indian massacre, Harrison's conscience was pricked, and he began to preach to the governor and those around him with an earnestness and

* The population of Virginia in 1648 did not probably exceed fifteen thousand souls. And if so, then the colony must have been pretty well leavened at that time, if one in fifteen of the entire population was Congregationally inclined. *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, published in 1649, says: "There are in Virginia about fifteen thousand English; and of negroes brought thither, three hundred good servants." — *Va. Hist. Reg.*, vol. II, p. 62; *Force's Tracts*, vol. II, No. 8. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, gives 5,000 to 7,000 as the population by the "Census of Tythes," in 1645 and 1652. This included the free males above sixteen years of age and the slaves of both sexes above that age. — *Query*, VIII.

In the *Description of Virginia* quoted above, we read: "Mr. Richard Bennet had this year (1648) out of his orchard as many apples as he made twenty butts of excellent cider. . . . Mr. Hough, at Nansamund, hath a curious orchard, also, with all kind and variety of several fruits" — p. 14. This is suggestive of the success of Bennet's Puritan settlement. See *ante* p. 202.

pungency which indicated a great change of mind, and savored so much of Puritanism that the High-Church Berkley was offended and dismissed his chaplain from office. Harrison then naturally sought out the Nansemond Christians, and ultimately became their faithful pastor and teacher. But he, too, was soon banished from the colony, though pronounced an "able man of unblamable conversation." Mr. Durand, the elder of the church, had soon to follow the pastor, and the good work, which had been going on quietly for some years, was thus checked, and finally suppressed in 1648 by the rigid enforcement of the law of 1642-3 against dissenters from the Church of England. Mr. Harrison came to Massachusetts about May, 1648, to seek counsel of the magistrates and others as to the duty of the Nansemond church in their trying circumstances. His first inquiry was, whether they ought to remove from Virginia? and if so, whither they should go? He told them that the church had been invited by a Captain Sayle, to remove in a body to Eleutheria, one of the Bahama Islands, which he was then engaged in colonizing with English people. And as an inducement to accept his overtures, Captain Sayle had told them that the Congregational church of the Somers Island and its venerable pastor, the Rev. Patrick Copeland, had decided to remove to the Bahamas.

In view of all the circumstances of the case, the magistrates advised that the Nansemond church

"should not be hasty to remove, so long as they could stay in Virginia upon any tolerable terms." And subsequently, letters were written to the church — which Winthrop says was "very orthodox and zealous for the truth" — dissuading them from having anything to do with Captain Sayle's enterprise.

In 1649 the Nansemond congregation presented a petition to the Council of the State for Virginia, complaining that their minister, Mr. Harrison, an able man of unblamable conversation, had been banished the colony, because he would not conform to the use of the Common Prayer Book; and the Council, October 11, 1649, directed the governor to permit Mr. Harrison to return to his ministry, "unless there is sufficient cause, approved by Parliament." * Because this order failed to reach Mr. Harrison, or for some other reason, the Nansemond minister did not return to Virginia; but, after a year or two spent in New England, went back to Old England, where he was in 1651. He was the minister of St. Dunstan's East for some time, and was a much admired preacher. He accompanied Henry Cromwell to Ireland, in 1655, as his chaplain, and remained at Dublin for some time, commending himself as an able and successful preacher of the gospel, and there received the honorary degree of D. D.†

* *Cal. State Papers.* October 11, 1649.

† Though separated from his old Virginia and Maryland

Dr. Harrison was not only a fluent, admired, and zealous preacher, but an author. The Earl of Drummond is reputed to have signified his admiration of this good man by saying that "he had rather hear Dr. Harrison say grace over an egg, than hear the bishop pray or preach." On or before 1665, he appears to have returned to England and to have resided in or near Chester. But though the times had changed, and Puritanism was then in the worst possible odor under the reign of the profligate Charles II, Harrison consistently maintained his principle, as we learn from a report in the Calendar of State Papers, dated July 8, 1665. This states that a conventicle was discovered at the house of "Dr. Harrison, late chaplain of Harry Cromwell, which was broken open and a hundred persons discovered, some in closets, others under beds; thirty of whom were taken before the Mayor, for their illegal assembling for religious worship."

The last that is known of the pastor of Nansemond church is this sad entry: "1665, October 13, Dr. Tho. Harrison, preached at St. Christopher's and before St. Bartholomew's died, *ex peste*; buried

people, Mr. Harrison appears to have retained his affection for them, and to have kept up his acquaintance with them. Among the *Colonial State Papers*, under date of July 28, 1652, is an order of the Council of State, referring the petition of Thomas Harrison, on the behalf of some well affected inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland, to the Committee for Foreign Affairs; who are directed to confer with them and report their opinion.

on the fourteenth." * He probably fled from Chester to avoid persecution, and took refuge with many other worthy Nonconformists in London; where during the prevalence of the great plague in 1664-1665 the Church of England withheld her persecuting hand, and suffered these ministers to administer to the sick and dying and to preach to the living, as they assiduously did, at the risk of their own lives, but to the great comfort of the living and dying.†

So far as organized Congregationalism, pure and simple, is concerned, the emigration of the Nansemond church in a body to Maryland finished its history in Virginia for about two centuries.

MARYLAND.

It is a common assumption that Maryland was originally a Roman Catholic colony. And Lord Baltimore, its Romish proprietary, has received the

* *Terra Mariæ*, 90-92; *The Obituary of Richard Smyth*, under date, in *Camden Soc. Pubs.*; *Winthrop*, II, 334-6; *Felt*, I, 487, 515; *Hubbard*, 522-4.

† Several New England ministers returned to England during the days of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, and held positions of honor and influence there, and among others, the Rev. John Knowles, one of the three ministers who went to Virginia. But by the passage of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, which silenced two thousand ministers in the Church of England, Knowles was driven from his ministry in the Cathedral of Bristol, and took refuge in London, where he was abundant in ministerial labors, at the hazard of his liberty; and where he remained during the prevalence of the plague.

highest encomiums for making religious freedom the basis of its government, notwithstanding his exclusive personal faith. Thus Oldmixon, one of our earliest, though not most reliable historians, says: "The first colony that was sent to Maryland . . . [in 1633-4] consisted of about two hundred people. . . . The chief of these adventurers were gentlemen of good families and Roman Catholics."* The historians of Maryland, Bozman and Sherry, unhesitatingly adopt this statement; and even Chalmers, regarded as one of the best authorities on Maryland early history, repeats this story with some enlargement, making Oldmixon's "two hundred *people*," two hundred "gentlemen of considerable fortune and rank, with their adherents . . . chiefly Roman Catholics."† And Mr. Bancroft not only adopts these statements of his predecessors, but pronounces a glowing eulogium on the Roman Catholic founder of this colony, as one who "deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. . . . The first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power. . . ‡

* *Oldmixon's British Empire in America*, 1, 324. Lond., 1641.

† *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies*, p. 207. 4to, 1780. Chalmers was a Scotch lawyer, who practiced in Maryland some ten years immediately previous to the American Revolution. Being a loyalist, he returned to England.

‡ *Hist. U. S.*, 1, 244-46, 3d ed., 1838.

But, in spite of all this concurrent historical testimony, the careful reader of early Maryland history will be driven to the conclusion that the colony was never really a Roman Catholic colony; that the very first settlers were largely Protestants; that even Calvert's company, called "the first colony," but really the third company of settlers there, contained many Protestants—possibly a numerical majority of the whole number—including some of the "chief adventurers," who numbered only about "twenty gentlemen of very good fashion," instead of two hundred, as Chalmers says; and finally, that policy, quite as much as principle, dictated the liberal constitution of Baltimore's colony; inasmuch as a charter for a Roman Catholic colony, at the time he began his settlement in Maryland, could not have been obtained of the English government; nor certainly for a quarter of a century after that time; and that only by pursuing the most liberal course towards Protestants could Baltimore have retained his proprietorship in the colony.

The earliest settlements in Maryland antedate Calvert's charter by a number of years. They were probably at Palmer and Kent Islands; the former, at the extreme northern end of Chesapeake Bay, just at the mouth of the Susquehanna; the latter, the largest island in the bay, just off the mouth of the Severn. The first of these settlements is supposed to have been made at the expense of Edward Palmer, "a curious and diligent

antiquarian" of Leomanton, England; who received a patent for the island from the Virginia Company on the 3d of July, 1622; and who expended about a thousand pounds in the abortive attempt to found an Academy there.

This learned, wealthy, and public-spirited gentleman, according to Fuller, died as early as 1625, "leaving to posterity the memorial of his worthy, but unfinished intentions." * Palmer was a Protestant; and though his plantation must have been quite small, and so far as the great end contemplated by its founder was concerned, a failure, yet the island was occupied subsequently, if not continuously from the first, by the English; and in 1636 was held by Claybourne as an advanced trading port, auxiliary to Kent Island.†

* *The English Colonization of America during the Seventeenth Century*, by Edward D. Neill, p. 220, London, 1871; *Va. Co. Records*, 180, 315.

† *Terra Marica, or Threads of Maryland Colonial History*, by Edward P. Neill, p. 57; *Camden's Gloucestershire*; *Fuller's Worthies*, I, 566. *Purchas* reports that "Master John Pory hath of late [between 1620 and 1624] made a discoverie into the Great Bay, Northward [the Chesapeake] (yet at the bottome of it he was not, reserving it for a second voyage) where are now settled neere one hundred English, very happily, with a prospect of good trade of furies there to be had." — *Pilgrimage*, vol. IV, p. 1784. One is tempted at first to think that this large settlement might have been on Palmer Island. But, as it is said that Pory did not go to the "bottome of the bay" — which must mean the northern end of it — he could not have visited Palmer Island, which lies at the extreme northern end of the Chesapeake. Then, there seems reason to doubt whether Pory ever made any such discovery anywhere, and whether he even reported having

Kent Island was first discovered, purchased and settled about 1629, under the general superintendence and part ownership of the celebrated William Claybourne, one of the early Virginia planters and for many years Secretary of State for Virginia. He, too, was a Protestant; and the first settlers of this island were of the same faith, and at an early date had among them a Church of England minister, the Rev. Richard James. This settlement so prospered that it numbered a hundred persons previous to the appearance of Calvert's colony in Maryland; and from this nucleus of Protestantism the whole immediate neighborhood, on the mainland, was so leavened that as the country was settled the Protestant chapels in the vicinity outnumbered the Catholics, two to one.

This is not the place to discuss the question of Claybourne's right to Kent Island against Baltimore's claim. But of his purchase and occupancy of the island, under a license to make discoveries and to trade in the Chesapeake, and to govern those who accompanied him in his expeditions — and this, some years before a charter for Maryland was granted — there can be no reasonable doubt. In the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series,

made this discovery. Pory was a man of genius and many accomplishments; but of exceptionable habits, and not altogether to be trusted. See "The Aspinwall Papers," p. 15 and onward, for a long notice of Pory. — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ix, series iv; also *Hist. Va. Company of London*, pp. 135; *Bradford's Hist. Plym.*, p. 127, Deane's ed.

under date of December 31, 1622, Claybourne is styled one of the "ancient planters and adventurers in Virginia," of which colony he was Secretary of State from 1625 to 1631. And he and Sir J. Wolstenholme and others, in a petition to the privy council, November 28, 1633, claim to "have been at great charge in settling an island named by them the Isle of Kent, within the Chesapeake Bay." Wolstenholme, or Worstenholme, was a trusted friend of the Leyden church when negotiating for the license of James I to remove to America. And in an old pamphlet published in 1655, entitled "Virginia and Maryland, or Lord Baltimore's Case Uncased and Answered," it is distinctly claimed that Claybourne and his associates "planted the Isle of Kent almost three years before even the name of Maryland was heard of, burgesses of that place sitting in the Assembly of Virginia." *

* *Force's Tracts*, II, No. iv. *Chalmer's Political Annals* are quite full on all matters relating to Maryland, though very unfriendly, if not utterly unfair towards Claybourne, the best abused man of his day. See also *Hazard's Collections*, I, 189-234. An admirable résumé of early Maryland history may be found in a pamphlet of sixty-four pages, entitled *Maryland Toleration, or Sketches of the Early History of Maryland*, to the year 1650, by the Rev. Ethan Allen, Presbyterian of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Baltimore, 1855. At p. 9, Mr. Allen says that in 1692, when the Church of England was established in Maryland, six Episcopal parishes were erected in the three adjacent counties, Kent, Queen Anne, and Talbot; and in 1855 — so true had those counties remained to their Protestant antecedents — that only three Romish chapels could be found in them, and only one resident priest.

We come now to the settlement of Maryland by Baltimore's colonists. In March, 1633-4, two vessels, the *Dove*, a pinnace of fifty tons, and the *Ark*, of four hundred tons, arrived in Chesapeake Bay, bringing two brothers of Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, "with very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and three hundred laboring men, well provided in all things." *

* See Lord C. Baltimore's letter to Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafforde, dated the 10th of January, 1633-4. He wrote to Strafforde: "After many difficulties . . . I have at last sent away my ships. . . . There are two of my brothers gone [Leonard, the governor of the colony, and George, who does not seem to have remained long in Maryland] with *very near twenty* other gentlemen of very good fashion, and three hundred laboring men, well provided in all things."—*Letters and Despatches of Earl of Strafforde*, i, 178-9. Lond., 1739. Notwithstanding Baltimore's distinct statement of the number of the adventurers in his two vessels, Oldmixon's erroneous statement has been generally adopted. Baltimore nowhere says, or intimates, that his colonists were chiefly Romanists, or largely so. Indeed, he says, "many others are joined with me in the adventure." And on this fact he seemed to ground his expectations of good success. He knew that a purely Roman Catholic colony could have no chance of success whatever. He could not even get his Jesuit priests on board his ships but by stealth; and every Catholic who went on board before leaving London had to belie his principles by taking the oath of allegiance, which then included an objuraction of the supremacy and authority of the Pope. Urban VIII charged the Romanists of Ireland "rather to lose their lives, than to take that wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, whereby the sceptre of the Catholic Church was wrested from the hand of the vicar of God Almighty."—See *Graham's Hist. United States*, and *Leland's Hist. Ireland*, in *Anderson's History of the Church of England in the British Colonies*, i, 474, 2d ed., Lond., 1856.

On the 27th of March, 1634, an Indian village on a small tributary of the lower Potomac, a trading-post of Henry Fleet—an English Protestant from Virginia, who had long been familiar with the country, spoke the Indian language freely, and was Calvert's guide and counsellor—was selected, purchased and taken possession of by the new-comers, and named St. Mary's. The chartered limits of this colony are described as extending from Watkin's Point, upon the Chesapeake Bay, to that part of Delaware Bay on the north which lies under the fortieth degree of north latitude, and then stretches westward in a right line to the head waters of the Potomac, following that river east and south to its mouth; and all the islands and islets within said limits, "a country hitherto uncultivated . . . and partly occupied by savages, having no knowledge of the Divine Being."

The first grant of this territory was made by King Charles, in the winter or spring of 1631-2, to his old friend and courtier, Lord George Baltimore; but Lord George dying on the 13th of April, 1632, before the charter had been signed and sealed, it was issued to Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, June 20, 1632.

Almost immediately on the arrival of Lord Baltimore's colony in the waters of the Chesapeake, trouble began with Claybourne and his settlement on Kent Island. Baltimore claimed that island, and the settlers there as his tenants, by virtue of

his charter, which embraced all the territory along the Chesapeake and "all islands and islets within the limits aforesaid." Claybourne disputed this claim to Kent Island, because it had been discovered by himself, purchased of the Indians, and settled and made a thriving plantation several years before the first grant to Lord Baltimore; and because Baltimore's charter included only "a country hitherto uncultivated" and unoccupied by Christians.

Out of these rival claims arose a controversy, which was continued with varying success for many years, to the great disturbance of the peace and prosperity of both settlements, repeatedly resulting in acts of violence, even to the shedding of blood. In the end, though Kent Island settlement proved a successful enterprise under the management of the indomitable Claybourne, and grew to more than a hundred souls—the sovereignty of Lord Baltimore over all was secured; though whether of right may still be an open question.*

* If any one would see how important a figure the Kent Island controversy made in the early history of Maryland, he has but to open any history of this colony, from Chalmers to McSherry. The current runs generally against Claybourne and his companions, and quite too strongly. Mr. Streeter, Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, and Mr. Neill, whose writings have been freely quoted in these pages, have done Claybourne more justice than any other writers.—See Streeter's *Maryland Two Hundred Years Ago*, and *The First Commander of Kent's Island*; Neill's *Terra Mariæ*; and *English Colonization of America*, partic.

But to revert directly to the question — whether the first settlement of Maryland was by Roman Catholics? It is quite apparent, whatever may have been Lord Baltimore's original purpose or his ultimate design, that even his first company of colonists embraced a very considerable number of Protestants. Most of the leaders may have been Catholic gentlemen; but among the three hundred laborers — who, after all were the bone and sinew of the colony — there were many Protestants; and such, certainly, were two of Governor Calvert's councillors, Thomas Cornwallis and Jerome Hawley. The laborers were generally poor men, hired by the proprietary and his wealthy associates, to do the hard work of a new settlement in the wilderness. Many of them were young men, probably, whom love of adventure or a desire to improve their condition in life induced to engage in this enterprise. Some of them certainly were men of serious, religious tastes and habits, who availed themselves of this opportunity to get away from home tyranny in Church and State, to a country which promised civil and religious freedom to all — even to indentured servants.* Nor is it strange

chap. xiii. *MacMahon's Historical View of the Government of Maryland* does pretty fair justice to Claybourne.

* The practice of giving and taking indentures for service was very common during the period of American colonization, and was continued for more than two hundred years. Men who had not sufficient money to provide outfits and pay their passages to this country, often bound themselves to the master of a vessel or to some rich adventurer, to do them service for a given period, on

that these poor Protestants should take service under a Catholic leader. They had never experienced any oppression from the Catholics, and were in fact common sufferers with them under the English Hierarchy; and they might very naturally prefer to place themselves under the chartered government of a liberal Papist, rather than to remain under the tyranny of Charles and Laud. Father White, the Jesuit priest who, with his companion Altham and two lay coadjutors, Knowles and Gavasse, were taken quietly on board the Ark at the Isle of Wight, after the ship's company had taken the oath of allegiance—distinctly and

conditions specified. And these indentures were transferred from hand to hand, as mortgages. These indented servants were not necessarily ignorant or degraded men. Some of these Maryland servants certainly were men of fair culture for their time; could read, and some of them even write with ability, as we shall have occasion to notice further on. There lies before me an original indenture between one Michael Crook, an Irishman, but one who could write his name very fairly, and Nathan Simmons, mariner; by which Crook bound himself, after his arrival in America, "for and during the term of four years, to serve in such service and employment as the said Nathan Simmons or his assigns should there employ him, according to the custom of the country of the like kind." In consideration whereof, the said Nathan Simmons did covenant with the said Michael "to pay his passage, to find and allow meat, drink, apparel, and lodging, with other necessities during the said term; and at the end of the said term, to pay unto him the usual allowance, according to the custom of the country in the like kind." This indenture was made May 27, 1771. It was transferred, August 3, 1771, to Robert Caldwell, of Swansey; and on the 12th of the same month, by Caldwell, to Robert Treat Paine, of Taunton, for the consideration of twelve pounds

repeatedly mentions the presence of Protestants among the first adventurers; and even suggests that a very considerable proportion of the company were of that faith. And that there was a considerable leaven of Puritanism even in the mass is also evident from the fact that though for years these Christians had no minister—except perhaps one on Kent Island—they yet maintained their faith by means of Puritan sermons, read in private and in their social and religious meetings; small chapels being built in different neighborhoods for their accommodation.

The earliest record book of the colony (1637–44) contains a report of a trial before the Governor, Secretary of State and one of the Commissioners, of William Lewis, the steward of Captain Cornwallis, for interfering with some Protestant servants—who lodged in his house and were under his charge—while reading aloud a sermon of the celebrated Puritan divine, Henrië or Henry Smith. They were probably reading a sermon founded on Job 1: 7: “Then the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? And Satan answered the Lord, saying: From compassing the earth to and fro, and from walking up and down in it.” In the preacher’s comments on these words, near the close of the discourse, we find the following sentence, which probably was the particularly offensive part to Lewis. Having shown how the devil seeks to compass and destroy men, the speaker continues: “As the serpent compasseth,

so does his seed—and therefore doth Solomon call the ways of the wicked crooked ways. This is the great compasser. There be little compassers besides, like the Pharisees, of whom it is said, that they compass sea and land to make one like themselves. Instead of these compassers, we have seminary priests, which compass from Rome to Tyburn, to draw one from Christ to Anti-Christ. I will not name all compassers besides, lest I be compassed myself; but this I speak within compass, that there is a craft of compassing, and Satan is the craft-master, and the rest are his prentices or factors under him. When he compasseth some men, he sets them to compass other men; and so he hath his compassers and spies in every country, like continual lieges, to follow his business for him, which will do it as faithfully as himself." . . .*

Lewis, coming into the room, and hearing these words, denounced them as lies, and the author

* I am indebted to Mr. Allen (*Maryland Toleration*, p. 38) for calling my attention to this sermon. Henry Smith was minister of St. Clement Dane's, London, and died about 1592. Anthony Wood says he was "esteemed the miracle and wonder of his age;" and Andrew Fuller says that he was "commonly called the silver-tongued Smith, being but one metal in price and purity beneath St. Chrysostom himself"—the golden-tongued. His sermons were collected and repeatedly published; not less than eight editions being called for between 1592 and 1600, and new editions of these celebrated sermons have been published as late as 1866.—See *Allibone's Dictionary*. These beautiful, practical, and pungent sermons were favorite household reading with English Puritan families in the seventeenth century.—See an illus-

of them as an instrument of the devil, and all Protestant ministers as equally bad; and what was more, he forbade the servants reading any more in his house from that book; and, as they understood him, from any Protestant book. This was carrying the matter quite too far. These men—poor though they were, and indented servants—“bondmen,” as they scrupled not to call themselves—yet knew their rights and hesitated not to assert them. A declaration of the facts in the case was immediately drawn up by one of these servants—for among them were men who could write as well as their betters—to which the signature of all the Protestants was to be attached; and then some freeman was to be solicited to carry the case before the governor and council of the Province, and request the interference and protection of the authorities. Lewis, being apprised of what was going on, took the alarm, and, with the intention of turning the movement against his servants, went at once to his employer, Captain Cornwallis, and accused them of plotting sedition, in getting up a petition to the governor of Virginia, etc.

tration from *Penn and Pennington*, in *The English Colonization of America*, p. 272, note. I quote from an edition of *The Sermons of Mr. Henry Smith*, published in London, 1800, in two compact 12mo volumes of 438 and 442 pages. These contain some fifty sermons, full of pith and truth, pointed and eloquent, and elegant, too, though somewhat quaint; together with a memoir of the celebrated author, and several other works of “the Chrysostom of the age,” as Marsden styles Smith.

The Captain, though a Protestant himself—a churchman—seems to have regarded the matter as serious enough to require immediate attention; and Sunday morning though it was (July 1, 1638), called to his assistance the Secretary of State, John Lewger, and summoned to his presence some of the accused servants. One of them, Robert Sedgrave, admitted at once that he had drawn up a protest against the contumelious speeches and ill-governed zeal of William Lewis, and given it to Francis Gray, who agreed to get the signature of all the Protestants in the neighborhood. Gray, on being questioned, confirmed what Sedgrave had said, produced the paper, and delivered it to Captain Cornwallis.* This paper Gray said was given to him by Sedgrave, to be shown to some of the freemen, to the intent only to procure them to join in a petition to the governor and council of that Province, for the redressing of the grievances which were so complained of in the writing.

After this, Cornwallis dismissed the servants, with orders to appear in the afternoon with security for their appearance at the court, and for their quiet and sober demeanor in the meantime. In the afternoon, Sedgrave and Gray appeared and were bound over with two sureties to answer at the next court.

On Tuesday, July 3, 1638, the parties were all brought into the court again, where were present

* *Bosman*, II, 596.

the Governor, the Captain, and Mr. Secretary Lewger. The parties were then carefully examined by the court; and as the result, Lewis unexpectedly found himself the culprit. He was declared "guilty of an offensive and indiscreet speech, in calling the author of the book an instrument of the devil; . . . [also] of a very offensive speech, in calling the Protestant ministers the ministers of the devil; . . . and to have offended, in forbidding them to read a book otherwise allowed and lawful to be read by the State of England. And because that these offensive speeches, and other his unreasonable disputations in point of religion, tended to the disturbance of the public peace and quiet of the colony, and were committed by him against a public proclamation set forth to prohibit all such disputes; therefore he was fined in five hundred weight of tobacco, to the lord of the Province; and to remain in the sheriff's custody until he found sufficient sureties for his good behaviour in . . . time to come." *

This bit of early Maryland history proves conclusively, that the Province neither was, nor claimed to be, a Roman Catholic colony; that the number of Protestants about St. Mary's must have been considerable in 1638, inasmuch as they kept up distinct meetings of their own, and had a chapel in which to worship; that some of them at least were men of fair intelligence, who could both

* *Bosman*, II, 85 —, and 596-8.

read and write—by no means universal accomplishments in those days; and from their style of writing, and from the character of the books they read, it is fairly inferable that many of them were devout Puritans if not Congregationalists.

Four years later than the above occurrence, the records of the Provincial Assembly furnish another glimpse of Protestantism in Maryland. On the 22d of March, 1642, in the afternoon, David Wyckliffe presented a petition to the Assembly in the name of the "Protestant Catholics" of Maryland—against surgeon Thomas Gerard, the owner and lord of St. Clement's manor, a wealthy and influential Romanist, for having entered their chapel, taken out the books, and carried away the key of the chapel.

Gerard was summoned before the house to make answer to these charges; and after both sides had been heard, the house found Gerard guilty of a misdemeanor, and ordered him to return the key and the books to the chapel, relinquishing all title to them or the chapel, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco towards the maintenance of the first minister who should arrive in the Province.*

* *Bosman*, II, 199-200; *Terra Mariæ*, 73. Mr. Allen (*Maryland Toleration*, p. 44) suggests that these St. Clement's Protestants must have been Church of England men, from their having "books" in their chapel. But it does not necessarily follow that these books were prayer books. They may have been Bibles and hymn books such as the Pilgrims and Puritans brought with them

As the troublous times of the Long Parliament, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate approached, Lord Baltimore—one of the most politic of men—manifested a desire not only to protect the Protestants of Maryland, but to introduce into his Province the most radical Puritans of the age. Governor Winthrop tells us that, some time during the summer of 1643, “the Lord Bartemore [Baltimore] being the owner of much land near Virginia, being himself a Papist, and his brother, Mr. Calvert, the governor there, a Papist also—but the colony consisted both of Protestants and Papists—wrote a letter to Captain Gibbons of Boston, and sent him a commission, wherein he made tender of land in Maryland to any of ours that would transport themselves thither, with free liberty of religion, and all other privileges which the place afforded; paying such annual rent as should be agreed upon. But our captain had no mind to further his desire herein, nor had any of our people temptation that way.” *

to New England, or subsequently imported. The Church of England Prayer Book was not in much favor just at that time in the mother country, and much less in America. The people of England, in 1642, were pretty generally tending towards Puritanism of the most stringent kind, threatening even the overthrow of the Church of England and the monarchy itself. And in all this revolutionary movement, the American colonies quite fully sympathized.

* *Journal or Hist. New Eng.*, 11, 148; *Bosman*, 11, 410-12. Edward Gibbon or Gibbons was the younger son of a noble family in England, who, with the hope of improving his fortune and grati-

But though neither Gibbons nor many, if any, of "ours" were tempted by Lord Baltimore's overtures at the time they were first made, they may have looked more favorably on them subsequently. Certain it is that his lordship did not relinquish his efforts to conciliate the Puritans; for in 1650-51 "Edward Gibbons, Esq., Major-General of New England," was appointed by Baltimore one of the council of Maryland, and a justice and commissioner for conservation of the peace, and "to be our admiral of our said Province of Maryland under us, and our lieutenants." * It seems probable that Gibbons accepted these appointments, and removed temporarily, at least, to St. Mary's, Maryland. But he died soon after, and we know not that he was able to accomplish anything considerable towards drawing New England settlers into Maryland.†

fying his ambition, came early to this country, a gay young man, and was one of the Mt. Wollaston frolickers. But in 1629, while attending the ordination of Messrs. Higginson and Skelton in Salem, young Gibbons was so seriously impressed that he soon became a changed man, and was admitted to the Boston church, and rose gradually to be one of the most trusted men in the colony. He was the Major-General of all the Massachusetts forces from 1649 to 1651; and is described by Johnson as "a man of resolute spirit, bold as a lion, being wholly tutored up in New England discipline, very generous, and forward to promote all military matters." The early historians of Massachusetts all mention Edward Gibbons with favor. Dr. Young (*Chronicles of Mass.*, pp. 383-4) has a long and comprehensive notice of Gibbons.

* *Bosman*, II, 410-12.

† *Bosman* says that Gibbons "settled in St. Mary's; and as

It was in the same line of policy that Baltimore wrote to the Jesuit fathers in Maryland, October 7, 1642, that, "considering the dependence of the State of Maryland on the State of England, unto which it must, as near as may be, be conformable, no ecclesiastic in the Province ought to expect, nor is Lord Baltimore nor any of his officers, although they are Roman Catholics, obliged in conscience to allow, such ecclesiastics any more or other privileges, exemptions, or immunities for their persons, lands, or goods, than is allowed by His Majesty or officers to like persons in England." *

In 1648-49 there were many and very important changes made in the government of Maryland. Leonard Calvert died in June, 1647, after an administration of thirteen years, marked by few faults and distinguished by many excellences. By a verbal appointment, Thomas Green was made his successor, and remained in power until the close of 1648, or later. Lord Baltimore then saw fit to remove Green, who was a Catholic, and to appoint in his place William Stone, of Northampton County, Virginia, a Protestant, and "zealously affected to the parliament." He also

may be inferred from circumstances, died there, about the last of 1655 or the first of 1656." But *Savage*, in *Winthrop* (I, 192), says that Gibbons died December 9, 1654, and that his will was probated in Massachusetts. If so, he must have been regarded as a citizen of this colony.

* *English Colonization of America*, 274.

removed Lewger, the old Catholic Secretary of State, and appointed Thomas Hutton, a Protestant, in his place; and gave the governor a new council, the majority of whom were Protestants. In Stone's commission, it is stated that he (Stone) had "undertaken, in some short time, to procure five hundred people of British or Irish descent to come from other places and plant and reside within our said Province of Maryland for the advancement of our colony there." The peopling of the Province was evidently a leading motive with Baltimore in the appointment of Stone, whose recognized Protestantism it was reasonable to expect would draw to the country men of like faith; and of inhabitants the colony was greatly in want at that time, for the population had materially decreased within a few years.

Then again, the revolution which was going on in England required that Baltimore should trim his sails to the storm, and exercise his utmost discretion to save his colony for himself and his heirs. He had expended a very large sum of money on the enterprise — Chalmers says, upwards of forty thousand pounds during the first two years; and his reimbursement depended, of course, on its success. Hence this change in the government of his colony to meet the changes in England.*

Not to pursue this intricate but interesting history of Protestantism in Maryland any further, it

* *Bosman*, II, 332-46; 642-60.

must be apparent to every careful reader that the first settlers of Maryland were Protestants; that Lord Baltimore's company, which came many years after the first settlement of the country, was composed largely of Protestants; that Maryland was never in any other sense a Roman Catholic colony than that the proprietary and most of the leading officials were Romanists at the first; though subsequently, this order of things was entirely changed, and Protestants occupied the prominent offices of State; and, finally, that Lord Baltimore's liberality towards all Christians was quite as much the result of policy and necessity as of generous principle; since he could never have obtained a charter for a Romish colony, and could never have sustained and built up one on any such exclusive principles.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NANSEMOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN MARYLAND, 1649
—DIFFICULTIES WITH THE PROPRIETARY—THE PURITANS
CONTROL MARYLAND—CONGREGATIONALISM GRADUALLY DIS-
APPEARS—REVIVED IN 1865 AND 1873.

OUR next step in Maryland history will take us into the presence of an organized Congregational church, which had immigrated in a body from Virginia. This is the Nansemond church, of which some account has already been given.

Though in May, 1648, the Nansemond Christians were advised not to leave Virginia "as long as they could stay upon any tolerable terms,"* they were yet so persecuted that they could remain only about a year longer, when they were literally driven out of Virginia in a body. The authorities of that colony, after repeated consultations and deliberations on the best means to suppress the Congregational church, which had been gradually growing in strength some five or six years, decided, first, to banish the pastor of the church, Mr. Harrison; and next, to drive away their other teachers. If these measures failed to break up the church, then it was determined that complaints should be made against the brethren, for violating the colonial law of March 2, 1642,

* *Winthrop*, II, 334.

which required absolute uniformity in worship agreeably to the orders and constitution of the Church of England. Accordingly, all these measures were successively employed against the church. But all these, and even the arrest and imprisonment of the members, failed of the end contemplated.

The government next proceeded to disarm the Congregationalists; a measure which even their enemies accounted harsh and cruel, surrounded as these people were by treacherous savages. But still the church held fast to the faith and order of the New Testament.* And it was finally decreed, that the whole body of believers should be banished from the colony, as the only means to relieve the country of their unwelcome presence. This of course, settled the question; as the only terms on which the Congregationalists could stay in Virginia included a renunciation of their faith.* The Nansemond Christians chose at once rather to give up their cherished homes and fine farms, and to go into the wilderness again and rebuild for themselves and their posterity, than to sacrifice their conscientious convictions.

Compelled to leave Virginia, it was quite natural that the church should be drawn towards Maryland, both by reason of its nearness, and because of the avowed liberality of the proprietary towards all Christians; and possibly, too, because some of

* *Leah and Rachel*, p. 22, in *Force's Tracts*, III, no. xiv.

their brethren had already found a refuge in that Province. A correspondence was accordingly opened with Lord Baltimore in England, and with his governor, Stone, in Maryland. From the governor, such terms were obtained before Baltimore could be heard from, as were satisfactory to the Nansemonds. They were promised a whole county, to be selected by themselves; entire liberty of worship, and the right to choose their own officers and to hold their own courts, subject only to appeals to the Provincial Court. They were to pay moderate quit rents for their lands, and were to take an oath of fidelity to the proprietary. These terms were readily accepted; and the church made immediate preparations to emigrate. They chose for their residence a delightful section of Maryland, along the banks of the Severn, about two miles from where it enters Chesapeake Bay; and, probably in the spring of 1649, began their plantation near where the city of Annapolis now stands. This settlement they named "Providence," in grateful recognition of the good hand of God, which had brought them out of a land of bondage to a place of rest and religious liberty, which they valued above everything else. Here "they sat down joyfully, followed their vocations cheerfully, and increased in their Province; and divers others were by this encouraged and invited over from Virginia."* This immigration of the

* *Leah and Rachel; Babylon's Fall in Maryland.*

Nansemond church, though it is not likely that it included absolutely all the members, certainly embraced the great body of them, with their elder, Mr. Durand, and undoubtedly broke up the church in Virginia; for after this date we lose all traces of organized Congregationalism in that colony; and about 1705, according to Beverley and Burk, there were no Dissenters in the County of Nansemond in Virginia, but a few Quakers.*

Though the church as a body seems not to have moved to Maryland until the spring of 1649, yet some of the members of that church may have gone thither as early as 1644, preceded or accompanied by the Rev. William Tompson or Thompson, one of the New England ministers who had been preaching to them in Virginia, and been silenced and banished by Governor Berkley in 1643. Winthrop tells us that after the second Indian massacre, April 18, 1644, which swept away at least three hundred of the Virginia colonists, and the great mortality which followed that sad occurrence, "divers godly disposed persons came from thence to New England;"† and probably others went elsewhere. And as Maryland was immediately adjacent, and on many accounts an attractive place, some of the "godly disposed" would be very likely to go thither. Since

* *Beverley's Hist. Virg.*, p. 210; *Richmond*, 1859; *Burk's Hist Virg.*, II, appendix, xiii, Petersburg, Va., 1805.

† *Winthrop*, II, 164-5.

nothing is said of Mr. Thompson's return to Massachusetts with his associate, Mr. Knowles, in June, 1643,* and as he is reported to have been in Maryland about 1647-48, the inference is, that he stopped there on his way from Virginia, in 1643, with some of his banished Congregational friends, and prepared the way for the Nansemond immigrants, in 1649. If he was there between 1644 and 1648, we may be quite sure that he was preaching after the New England fashion, and possibly organizing a Congregational church. This certainly would have been like him; and he would have been the more ready to prolong his absence from Massachusetts and continue his missionary labors, because soon after he went south his wife died, his family was broken up and his children were scattered among his friends; so that he had no home to go to if he returned to New England. Thompson is thought to have left Maryland in 1648,† in

* *Winthrop*, II, 96.

† *Neill (Terra Mariæ, p. 81)* says, that Thompson labored on in the colony of Maryland until the latter part of 1648. But this is improbable; for in August, 1648, Thompson was back among his old people at Braintree; and on the 15th of that month was sent as a delegate to the Synod at Cambridge. — See *Winthrop*, 12, 330. Thompson's first child by his second wife, Anna, widow of Simon Crosby of Cambridge (*Felt*, I, 482, says of Rowley), was born either in March or May, 1648; and it is not very probable that Thompson came to New England, married Mrs. Crosby, returned again to Maryland and had a child born to him there by May, 1648, and then returned again to Massachusetts in season to be a delegate from Braintree to the Cambridge Synod, in August, 1648; though the language of the Provincial Assembly to Lord

consequence of some prejudice of Lord Baltimore against him ; though the Provincial Assembly repelled and resented the accusations on which this prejudice was founded.*

We are able to give but few details of the removal of the Nansemond church to Maryland, or of the *personnel* of the church. Among their leading men we know were Elder Durand and Richard Bennet, both men of great excellence of character, and one of them, of wealth. There were also James Cox and George Puddington, both of whom were delegates to the Provincial Assembly of Maryland in 1650 — Cox being Speaker of the Assembly. Besides these, Edward Lloyd, "gent," "Commander" of the county, James Homeword, Thomas Meares, Thomas Marsh, Matthew Hawkins, James Merryman, and Henry Catlyn — who were among the commissioners of the county appointed by Governor Stone in 1650, for granting warrants and commissions and all other matters of

Baltimore, in 1648, certainly suggests that Thompson was still in Maryland at that time. — Compare *Terra Mariae*, 81; *Winthrop*, 11, 330. Mr. Thompson of Braintree had a son William, who graduated at Harvard in 1653, and afterwards preached at Springfield, Mass., and at Stonington and New London, Connecticut. From Connecticut, he went to Virginia, where he died in 1665. Could it have been this William who was in Maryland about 1648? He may have gone out with his father to Virginia, and have come back with the Nansemond brethren to Maryland, and thence returned to New England. — *Hist. First Cong. Church, Stonington, Conn.*, by R. A. Wheeler, pp. 80-91.

* *Winthrop*, 11, 95, 96, 164; *Terra Mariae*, 81-83.

judicature — in fact the Commander's council — were all members of the Nansemond, or Providence church.*

The church probably was obliged to leave Virginia before receiving a reply from Lord Baltimore. The brethren went, it may be, in some haste, on assurances from the local authorities that the terms of settlement should be easy and satisfactory; which they were the more ready to believe, because William Stone, himself a Protestant, was just then the governor of Maryland. But soon after their arrival at Providence, it was found that the proprietary required of all colonists an oath of allegiance and fidelity to himself more absolute and comprehensive than a subject had any right to demand, or a loyal and freeborn Englishman to take. This oath required an acknowledgment of the proprietary, as the true and absolute Lord of the Province and county of Maryland, and a solemn promise "to defend and maintain his lordship's royal jurisdiction and dominion over and in the said Province." This oath the Providence planters "scrupled," because they thought it "far too high" for his lordship, being a subject himself, to exact such terms; because they regarded it as unsuitable to the liberty which God had given English subjects from arbitrary and Popish government; and because this oath would bind them to

* *Bosman*, II, 407-8. From these gentlemen many respectable Maryland families still trace their descent.

countenance and uphold the Roman Catholic religion, which "in their hearts they could by no means close with." *

Entertaining these views, the Providence people declined to identify themselves with Lord Baltimore's government; to take any part in public affairs, to assent to any oaths, or even to secure grants of their lands. They seem to have contented themselves with the exercise of "squatter sovereignty"—something quite common in those days all over this country, and not yet obsolete. This course they may have preferred because the confused state of things in the colony just at that time rendered it difficult to get a good title to their lands—the revolution in England bringing into question whether Lord Baltimore would be allowed to hold the sovereignty of this Province. Then, as to their own personal government they had no difficulty; for, coming into the Province as they did—an organized Congregational church, with its ruling elder and probably deacons—they had a perfect government within themselves; and having before them the example of the New England Congregationalists in their successful colonization movements, they had no hesitation in undertaking the management of their own affairs in their own way. The Providence people remained thus aloof from the Provincial government during the first years of their settlement.

* *Fall of Babylon.*

For pursuing this course they have been somewhat roughly handled, and particularly, for not objecting to this plantation oath before they went to Maryland, if at all. Langford, an old servant of Lord Baltimore, writing in 1655, says that "they were at first acquainted by Captain Stone before they came there, with that oath of fidelity" which was required of planters. But was it that long and particular oath, attached to the new "Condition of Plantation" and framed in June, 1648, but probably not promulgated in Maryland until the spring of 1649? * Most probably not; for the reason, that all the negotiations and arrangements of the Nansemond Congregationalists must have been made before these new conditions and this new oath were promulgated. And if so, this would be a sufficient answer to the objection above mentioned, and a very satisfactory explanation of the disappointment and discontent of the Nansemonds after their arrival in Maryland. New conditions and a new oath, very long and minute in details, and different from anything before in force, met them on getting into Maryland, to which they very naturally and reasonably objected.

But Governor Stone was loath to lose the active coöperation of so choice a body of men in the affairs of the colony, especially as he was bound to bring some hundreds of English or Irish into the Province within a limited time. He therefore

* *Bosman*, II, 341-43, 370-75, 655-60.

visited Providence in the spring of 1649–50, and so reconciled matters as to induce the Congregationalists to choose delegates for the Provincial Assembly, which had been summoned for the 2d of April, 1650, but adjourned to the 5th on account of the absence of delegates from Kent and Providence. On assembling at St. Mary's on the 5th, a majority of the legislature were found to be Protestants, and sufficiently Puritanical in their taste to make choice of Mr. Cox of Providence, as their Speaker.* And yet further, the obnoxious planter's oath was so modified as to relieve the scruples of the Puritans, simply by recognizing the proprietary's rights "so far as they did not in any sort infringe or prejudice the just and lawful liberties or privileges of the free-born subjects of the kingdom of England." Explanatory words were also added, to the effect, that the oath was "not in any wise understood to infringe or prejudice liberty of conscience in point of religion." These concessions satisfied the Providence people and induced them to take the oath of allegiance to the proprietary; their delegates declaring in writing, before separating, that they had under his lordship's government, "all convenient fittings and freedome, and liberty in the exercise of religion."

* *Bosman*, II, 380–83; *Terra Mariz*, 87. Governor Stone seems to have gone personally to Providence after the adjournment of the Assembly on the 2d of April, to persuade the people to choose burgesses to this Assembly.

As a matter of fact, the law-enacting power of the colony at this date was in the hands of the Protestants (so far as the colonists had any power), for, of the thirteen or fourteen members of the Colonial Assembly of 1650, no less than eight were Protestants, six of whom were from St. Mary's County,* the seat of the first colonial settlement under Baltimore. How many of them were Puritans, however, we cannot confidently say. And even in the Assembly of 1649, consisting of the governor, six councillors and nine burgesses, four of the burgesses and three of the councillors certainly were not Catholics—neither was the governor. Still further to conciliate the Puritans, the territory around Providence was soon erected into a county or commanderate, under the title of Anne Arundel County, in honor of Lord Baltimore's deceased wife, the daughter of Earl Arundel. Governor Stone again visited the settlement and organized a local government, commissioning Mr. Edward Lloyd Commandant, and appointing seven commissioners, fully authorized to organize all local institutions necessary to the administration of government.†

In the autumn of 1649, Lord Baltimore, following the line of policy indicated by the appointment of a Puritan governor for his Province and inviting

* *Langford's Just and Cleare Refutation*, etc., pp. 33-4; *Terra Mariæ*, 85, 87; *Bosman*, II, 403-5.

† *Bosman*, II, 407.

nonconformists into his colony, issued a commission to Robert Brooke, Esquire, to be commander of one whole county, to be newly set forth and erected within the Province of Maryland; he having proposed to transport himself, his wife, eight sons and family, and a great number of other persons into the said Province; there to erect, make, and settle, a considerable plantation during the summer of 1650. Brooke was also commissioned as a councillor of the Province. The conditions of this commission on Brooke's part seem to have been complied with; and on the 21st of November, 1650, an order was made for erecting a part of the territory on the south side of Peterborough river into a county, called Charles county, to be Mr. Brooke's commandery. That this gentleman was an influential Puritan, appears from this: that when Maryland was "reduced" under the Commonwealth, in 1651-52, Mr. Brooke was placed by Parliament at the head of "The Keepers of the Liberty of England" in the Province of Maryland. And the high character of his settlement appears in the subsequent history of that section of Maryland. In 1653-4 Richard Preston, and sixty others of Patuxent river, petitioned the commissioners of the Commonwealth for relief from the orders of Governor Stone — given in pursuance of instructions from Lord Baltimore — which required the petitioners to take the oath of fidelity to the proprietary of the Province, or be debarred from all claim to the lands on which they

had settled.* This petition, and a similar one from Edward Lloyd and seventy-six other persons, householders and freemen of Severn river, will help to an understanding of what otherwise would be well nigh inexplicable in the subsequent conduct of the Providence Christians.

We have seen that the difficulties between them and the proprietary government were all apparently adjusted, in the spring of 1650, and that the delegates to the Assembly must have returned to Providence well satisfied with the colonial arrangements and the disposition of government towards them. Yet, during the ensuing year, something must have arisen to shake the confidence of the Providence people in the government; or at least, to make them cautious about committing themselves any further to its measures; for they declined to send delegates to the next Provincial Assembly.

It may be, as was charged at the time, that they were influenced by the prevailing conviction that Lord Baltimore might soon lose his proprietary rights in the Province, in accordance with the avowed purpose of Parliament to reduce to obedience all the foreign plantations which stood in opposition to the government † — though his lord-

* *The Lord Baltimore's Case Uncased*, pp. 28-31; *Bosman*, 11, 375-77, 445, 681; *Terra Mariæ*, 117-19, 134.

† *Cal. of State Papers*, September 26, 1850; *Bosman*, 11, 413. If any one would see how much discussion the rights of Lord

ship insisted that Maryland and the New England colonies alone acknowledged the Parliament. The Providence settlers were of course favorable to the Parliament, which had abolished the compulsory use of the Book of Common Prayer, and was in evident sympathy with the freedom of worship claimed by the Congregationalists. It is likely that the petitioners knew, too, that Parliament had then under consideration "the validity of the original grant of June 20, 1632, to Cecil, Lord Baltimore, of a tract of land called Maryland;" and that the patent of Maryland, in Wm. Jessop's hands, had been called for by the Committee of Admiralty;* and at the same time, that it was proposed to raise commissions to settle the government of Virginia, the confines of which were to be "particularly expressed according to the ancient limits;" which limits would naturally embrace the larger part of Maryland.† All these

Baltimore provoked in England about this time, he should look into the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1649 and 1650.

* *Cal. of Col. State Papers*, October 11, 1649; December 28, 1649; and March 15, 1649-50.

† *Ib.*, January 9, 1649-50. That Lord Baltimore was very much afraid this would be done, appears from his petition to Parliament, August 31, 1652, entitled: "Reasons of State concerning Maryland—Importance of not uniting that Province with Virginia, to the prejudice of his patent and right of Maryland, where he maintains a deputy governor at his own charge—Cavalier tendencies of Virginia—Maryland and New England the only two Provinces that did not declare against the Parliament."—*Cal. of Col. State Papers*, August, 1652.

things may have had their influence on the Providence people to withhold delegates from the Assembly called at St. Mary's in March, 1650-51.

But there were other, and even better reasons for the alienation of the Providence people. These are set forth in a work by Leonard Strong, "agent for the people of Providence in Maryland," published in London in 1656, and endorsed by William Durand, Secretary of State for Maryland. He says that though the congregated church at Providence declined to take the oath which would have bound them "to acknowledge and be subject to a royal jurisdiction and absolute dominion of Lord Baltimore, and to defend it and him against all power whatsoever;" "yet, considering Lord Baltimore to be lord of the soil, and willing to acknowledge him, and pay him his due rents and services; [they] upon that account took an oath which was much qualified and modified from its former rigor." But this oath, he continues, "though it was accepted by Captain Stone, the Lord Baltimore's lieutenant, yet [was] utterly rejected by his lordship, who gave order that the oath [which he had prescribed] should absolutely be urged; and gave special instructions and charges to his lieutenant, to proclaim that all who would not take the oath within three months of publication, and pay rents and sue out patents, should be expelled the Province, and the land seized to his lordship's use." Now, this being contrary to what was promised the people before they removed from

Virginia, and inconsistent with the specific arrangements with Governor Stone after they came to Maryland, was naturally very offensive to them; and they loudly and reasonably complained; first, to Lord Baltimore, who utterly refused any relief; and then to the Council of State.

It was this violation of agreement, this breach of contract made with Governor Stone, and this avowed resolution of Baltimore to impose on the Congregationalists terms of citizenship different from what had been offered before they came to Maryland, and from what had been solemnly agreed upon after they came—it was this attempt to take advantage of their situation, to force upon them an oath which they regarded as inconsistent with their freedom as Englishmen and their obligations as Christians—it was this that made the breach between the Puritans and the Provincial Government, induced them to withdraw from the Assembly in 1651, and involved them for successive years in troubles and sufferings, and finally, even in a bloody civil war. They from the first were disposed to be quiet and good citizens, to “seek peace and pursue it” in the land of their adoption. Their religious principles as well as their personal interests required this. Their condition was such as to forbid them to be captious. And that they were not disposed to be, is evident from the readiness with which they certified their satisfaction with the government and the colony, just as soon as their scruples about the oath had

been removed.* But, finding that the compact made with the governor was unhesitatingly nullified by Baltimore, and that the obnoxious oath was to be forced upon them if they identified themselves with the government, they very properly resumed their original independent position in the Province, and refused to send burgesses or delegates to the Assembly at St. Mary's, March, 1650-51. This, of course, was very annoying to the governor, and when reported to Lord Baltimore, greatly vexed him also, and called forth a warm message to the governor and Assembly, August 20, 1651; in which he resents the supposition that his patent was in any danger; directs the Assembly to proceed in their business, regardless of absent delegates; that a fine be levied for this disregard of the governor's summons; and if the offence still be persisted in after admonition, that the absentees be declared enemies to the public peace, and rebels to the lawful government of the Province, and be proceeded against accordingly.†

How this particular affair ended we are not informed; but we know that there was very serious trouble between the parties in subsequent years; in fact, that Lord Baltimore's policy and management kept the inhabitants of Maryland in a chronic

* See the "Declaration Certificates" of the Protestants, in *Bosman*, II, 672.

† *Bosman*, II, 415.

quarrel with him or his governor, or each other, for nearly or quite an entire generation. And no inconsiderable part of these troubles originated in religious differences.

After the establishment of the English Commonwealth (1651-1652) Maryland was reduced to its due obedience to the reigning powers, though not without considerable difficulty—Governor Stone and his Secretary of State, Hatton, for a time strenuously resisting, though they finally submitted. The controlling power of the colony was then lodged in the hands of the Puritans, several of whom were Providence Congregationalists; and they continued to direct the affairs of the colony, without interference, until the winter of 1654-5, when the old governor, Stone, stimulated by the sharp reproofs of Baltimore, and guided by his express instructions, began to move for the recovery of the Province. Stone commenced hostilities by sending a band of armed men to Patuxent, the seat of the Puritan government, to seize the public records. This being done, the party proceeded to break into private houses and seize arms, ammunition, provisions, and even persons. At the same time the governor was organizing an armed force to conquer the “rogues and round-headed dogs,” as they called the Puritans of Providence and the Severn river; and by the 20th of March, 1654-5, he was prepared to start on his ill-advised campaign, with about two hundred armed men, in ten or twelve small vessels.

The Puritans, apprised of what was going on, hastily gathered their forces, to the number of about one hundred and twenty men — few indeed in number, but of the genuine Round-head stock — “resolved,” as they said, “to commit themselves into the hand of God, and rather die like men than live like slaves!” They nevertheless sent forward messengers to parley and treat with the advancing force. But Stone seized these messengers and refused to treat with them, and went forward to the outer harbor of Providence. There he landed, and engaged in a violent fight with the inhabitants, who had marched out to meet him. The battle cry of the Puritans was: “In the name of God, fall on! God is our strength!” While that of Maryland was: “Hey for Saint Marie!” The fight was fierce, but short, terminating in the complete discomfiture of Stone’s party and the death or capture of nearly the whole of them, including the governor himself. About fifty were killed and wounded; and among the former was Lieutenant William Lewis, the old enemy of the Protestants. Thus was the power of Lord Baltimore once more completely overthrown, and the Provincial government absolutely at the disposal of the Puritans. And this power they held until by mutual agreement, arrangement and concessions, the government was restored again* to the

* The chief authorities for the statements in the text are *Strong* and *Langford*. Strong was a Puritan, and doubtless was

proprietary's hands, March 24, 1657-8, and the land had rest from further strife.

Of the subsequent history of Congregationalism in Maryland, little can now be gathered. It was not a congenial soil for our free religious institutions. The pervading influence of the proprietary's government was bitterly hostile to the Congregationalists; not alone because they were so unreconcilably opposed to Romanism, but because they were a constant protest against the aristocratic principles of his government.

No one presumes that the little Puritan settlement at Providence was composed of perfect men; but it may nevertheless fairly challenge a comparison with any other settlement in Maryland. Not one can show a larger proportion of intelligent, sober-minded, God-fearing people. Their principles constrained them to take the side of civil and religious freedom, and made them, of course,

an eye-witness of the battle; as was also Elder Durand, of the Providence Congregational church, who certifies to the correctness of Strong's account. This is entitled *The Fall of Babylon in Maryland*, etc., etc. Langford's *Just and Cleare Refutation*, etc., contradicts many of Strong's statements. But as Langford was not even in Maryland at the time of this affair, he is not an original authority, and is less trustworthy than Strong, supported by Durand. Both of these pamphlets may be found in the Boston Athenæum library. *Bosman* (11, 516-28) gives a detailed account of this affray, mainly from the above sources; giving, as a matter of course, preference to Langford, whenever he could. — See also *Terra Mariæ*, 120-23; *Bosman*, 11, 550-63.

the friends of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate; and when these fell, they of necessity lost position, reputation and influence.

The original number of the Nansemond immigrants was probably not many more than a hundred; and from the time of their arrival in Maryland, onward, there was little or no immigration of Puritans from the mother country, while the population hostile to them continued to increase with considerable rapidity.* Under these extremely adverse circumstances, it was an unavoidable consequence that the Congregationalists should dwindle away, and ultimately die out in Maryland; just as most of the English Congregational churches in Holland did, and as the church in Leyden feared they should, if they remained in that uncongenial country.

Of the pastor of the Nansemond church after its settlement in Maryland nothing is known, if indeed they had a pastor. It may be that they followed the example of the Plymouth church; and while waiting in hope that their old pastor, Mr. Harrison, might return, may have contented themselves with the care and instruction of their elder, Mr. Durand. It is not unlikely that they enjoyed

* The population of Maryland continued to increase during all the disturbances there between 1649 and 1685. In 1660 it had risen to about 12,000; while Virginia had but about 30,000; and it had gained at the rate of about 800 a year for several successive years, numbering about 16,000 in 1665. — *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 315, 341.

occasional preaching from itinerating ministers who visited the colony, and possibly somewhat frequently; for we know that there were Congregational ministers in Maryland during the period under review. Rev. Francis Doughty, who was one of the original purchasers of Taunton, in Plymouth Colony, New England, and afterwards of Newtown, Long Island, removed to "the Virginias" in 1648-49, and was living on the Patuxent river in 1659, and probably for seventeen years later. He was drawn to Maryland, doubtless, by the appointment of his brother-in-law, William Stone, as governor of the Province, and by the removal thither of his daughter Mary, the widow of Dr. Adrian Vander Douch, of New Amsterdam, who had become the wife of Hugh O'Neal, and lived on the Patuxent river. There were many Protestants along this river, and it is likely that he preached to them, and may have had a Congregational church there.* The Rev. Charles Nicholet, who made a great stir in Massachusetts during the years 1672-1676, was for a time in Maryland. He was a man of many attractions, a zealous preacher, and full of affection.† Everything like evangelical religion, however, seems to have been in a very low state in Maryland during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In 1676,

* See *Felt's Eccl. Hist. N. E.*, 1, 345, 445, 458; *Terra Mariæ*, 119, 134; *Eng. Col. of Am.*, 326-29.

† *Felt*, 11, 490, 510, 520, 522, etc.; *English Colonization*, 329.

there were, so far as is known, but four Protestant ministers in the whole Province, containing at that time about twenty thousand souls: the Rev. John Yeo and the Rev. William Wilkinson, conformist Episcopalians; the Rev. Francis Doughty, Congregationalist; and the Rev. Matthew Hill, Presbyterian. This last-named gentleman was of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and was ejected from the Church of England for nonconformity, in 1662; and having lost all his worldly goods in the great fire in London, September 22-26, 1666, embarked for the West Indies, having only a few clothes, a Bible, concordance and a small parcel of manuscripts. He there found some Scotch people about to emigrate to Maryland; these he accompanied, and became a useful and respected minister in the colony; being "a good scholar, a lively preacher, and of a free and generous spirit." He was settled in Charles County, Maryland, in 1669.*

* *Terra Mariæ*, 139-40, and *Calamy's Nonconformist's Memo-
rial*, III, 471-2; *English Colonization in America*, p. 329. Mr. Yeo
seems first to have gone to the Providence Island, as early as the
Spring of 1633. — See *Cal. of Colonial Papers*, April 10, 1633.
The Company of Providence Island under that date express
their wish to the governor, that "Mr. Holligrove and Mr. Yeo
and three servants may be carefully disposed of." He was at
Patuxent, Maryland, in May, 1676, and thence wrote a long let-
ter and appeal to Sheldon, the Primate of England, which was
laid before the committee of plantations; in which he sets forth
"ye deplorable estate and condition of the Province of Mary-
land, for want of an established ministry." He says: "Here are
in this province ten or twelve countys, and in them at least

From about the year 1700, we find no traces of a Congregational church or ministry in Maryland for a hundred and fifty years or thereabouts. The next attempt to plant our institutions in that country was made so lately as 1865, when a Congregational church was organized in Baltimore, and a faithful and accomplished minister, the Rev. Edwin Johnson, was installed pastor. This church in 1872 numbered one hundred and nine communicants, fifty-four of whom were males. But it stands almost alone in the State, and its progress has been slow and environed with hindrances; rather, it would seem, from the hereditary prejudices of the people of Maryland against New England institutions, than from any direct opposition to the pastor or his flock.* Its present pastor

twenty thousand soules — but three Protestant ministers of us yet are conformable to y^e doctrine and discipline of y^e Church of England. Others there are (I must confess) y^t runne before they are sent, and pretend they are ministers of the Gospell, y^t never had a legall call or ordination to such a holy office, neither are they qualified for it, being for the most part such as never understood anything of learning, and yet take upon them to be dispensers of y^e word, and to administer y^e Sacrament of Baptisme," etc., etc. — See the whole letter in *Anderson's History of the Colonial Church*, 11, 395-96.

* In writing this sketch of Puritanism and Congregationalism in Maryland, I have been greatly aided by an article on the subject in the *Congregational Quarterly* for April, 1868, from the pen of the Rev. Edwin Johnson, the first pastor of the Baltimore Congregational Church. *Terra Mariæ*, by E. D. Neill, though but a small volume, and composed only of "threads of Maryland history," has furnished more valuable materials for my use than many of the large histories of the Province which have been

(1878) is Rev. Theodore J. Holmes, and its membership about one hundred and five.

A Welsh Congregational church was organized at the flourishing town of Frostburgh, in 1873. This is in Alleghany County, over the great coal basin of Western Maryland, near the flourishing town of Cumberland; and the church is undoubtedly composed of Welsh miners, who have been drawn to the neighborhood by the coal mines in the vicinity. Its membership in 1878 was forty-six.

consulted. And from another work, *English Colonization of America*, by the same author, who seems to have a gift at successful foraging on unfrequented fields, I have also derived many facts and hints of special value. My indebtedness to other writers has been carefully acknowledged from page to page; for to make such acknowledgements is certainly one of the first duties of a writer of history.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE ISLANDS—THE BERMUDA OR SOMERS ISLANDS—REDISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF BY ENGLISH PURITANS AND OTHERS, 1609-1647—NOTABLE MEN AT THESE ISLANDS—A CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

WE have already found Congregationalists in unexpected quarters. But we are to find them in yet stranger places. The nonconformists of England were among the first to catch the spirit of emigration and colonization which pervaded the kingdom during the first half of the seventeenth century; and the Congregationalists—the most advanced and enterprising section of that great body—were, for obvious reasons, most thoroughly imbued with this spirit. For many years the islands off the southern coasts of North America were favorite resorts for these emigrants; and among the most attractive of them was an extensive group of small islands which lies off the coast of North Carolina, some six hundred miles distant, known as the Bermuda, or the Somers or the Summer Islands. Though discovered and visited as early as 1522 by Juan Bermudez, a Spanish mariner, whose name they still bear, very little was known about them for three quarters of a century. Their bad reputation among sailors, for “unmerciful and incredible storms of fearful thunder and lightning,” and for being “enchanted and

inhabited with witches and devills, which grew by reason of accustomed monstrous thunder storms and tempests neere unto the islands," caused them to be avoided by all who could conveniently keep out of their latitude.

In July, 1609, an English fleet of five vessels, commanded by Sir George Somers, with five hundred passengers bound to Virginia, encountered a terrific storm when near these islands, and the "Sea Venture," the Admiral's ship, was wrecked. Fortunately, the ship's company and much of her cargo and materials were safely landed on one of the islands; which, to the surprise of all, were found to be, not the "Devil's islands," but a very paradise for climate, soil and productions. A perennial spring covered them with verdure. Tropical fruits were abundant; the woods were filled with wild swine—the produce of some swine left on the islands by a friendly mariner who had visited them many years previous; and the waters around literally swarmed with fish of various kinds.

After about nine months of enforced but pleasant sojourn on these islands, the ship's company embarked in two small vessels which they had built on the islands, and in due time arrived safely in Virginia.

The reports made by the Sea Venture's company about the Bermudas awakened a lively interest in the Virginia Company in England, and measures were immediately adopted for the thorough

colonization of these islands, which they called after the Admiral, "the Somers Islands."

A new company was formed within the Virginia Company, and by the 12th of May, 1612, the ship "Plough," with sixty planters, was ready to sail for the islands. This was soon followed by another company of thirty persons, and in the course of the next year, by four other companies of emigrants, amounting to three hundred and eighty persons in all.*

So much in earnest was the London Company in colonizing these islands, that previous to 1623 they had "dispensed of their own proper goods to the sum of one hundred thousand marks and upwards" † — \$322,000. By 1628 two thousand

* One of these companies — that which sailed in the good ship "Elizabeth," in 1613, carried out the first potatoes ever seen on the islands. These were planted and "flourished exceedingly." But not being properly appreciated and cared for, "they were almost lost — all but two castaway roots," which being planted and tended carefully, "so wonderfully increased that they became a maine reliefe to all the inhabitants." This is Captain John Smith's account. — *Generall Historie of the Bermudas*, pp. 177-79, folio, Lond., 1627. Bermuda potatoes are still "a maine reliefe" to the inhabitants of our northern and eastern cities for early potatoes. About a thousand barrels — say 2,500 bushels — find their way every spring into New England, and perhaps ten times as many into New York markets.

For the story of the shipwreck and the early history of the Bermudas, or Somers Islands, as they were generally called, see *Smith's Gen. Hist.*; *Purchas, His Pilgrims*, iv, 1793; *Calendar of Colonial State Papers*, February 12, 1611-12, October 7, 1656; *Virginia Company of London*, p. 53; *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 156-7.

† *Hist. Virginia Company of London*, p. 59.

people had been transported to the islands, many houses and churches had been built, and forts and castles armed for their protection. And in 1656, it was reported to the Council of State that the islands could muster fifteen hundred men able to bear arms; and before the close of the century, the islands were estimated to contain from eight to ten thousand inhabitants of English extraction.

Whether or not this was an exaggerated estimate, it is certain that before the middle of the century the population was overflowing into other islands. One hundred and thirty went to St. Lucia, and four or five hundred people were proposing to go elsewhere, "because of the increase of people and strangers of the place." And as early as 1639, the Somers Company in London petitioned the Commissioners for Plantations for a tract of land in Virginia, whereon to colonize the surplus population of their islands.* Indeed, everything goes to show that the Somers Island Colony was the most popular and successful one

* *Calendar Colonial State Papers*, June 19, 1628; *Ib.*, July 28, 1639; *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 201. The island of St. Lucia was first occupied by the English in 1639. But the next year it was depopulated by an attack of the Caribs, who killed most of the inhabitants and drove the remnant from the island. This, according to *Raynal*, was in revenge for an act of perfidy committed by an English captain, who on being visited by the Caribs of Dominica, a neighboring island, for the purpose of selling fruit, ruthlessly seized and carried them off. — *Edwards' History of West India Islands*, iv, 201 —; *Abbe Raynal's Révolution des Colonies Anglaises*, etc., vi, 54.

in all North America for many years.* The rush of emigrants, particularly of Puritans, was so great towards these islands that the government became alarmed, and in 1636 issued an order to the High Admiral to this effect: "Whereas it is observed that such ministers who are non-conformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the church, have, and do frequently, transport themselves to the Somers Islands, and other of His Majesty's plantations abroad, where they take liberty to nourish and preserve their factious and schismatical humors, to the seducing and abusing of His Majesty's subjects, and the hindrance of that good conformity and unity in the church which His Majesty is careful and desirous to establish throughout his dominions" — therefore his lordship is required to take strict orders, that "no clergyman henceforth be suffered to go over into the Somers Island but such only as shall have approbation on that behalf from our good lords, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, His Grace and the Lord Bishop of London." And all such as had already gone thither without approbation he is required forthwith to remand back to England. †

* *Virginia*, in 1623, after sixteen years of adverse experience and enormous expenditure by the great and rich Virginia Company in London, contained only about twenty-five hundred inhabitants. — *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 183. The Company alone had expended \$150,000, besides all that had been expended by individuals and societies.

† *Rushworth in Felt*, i, 283.

Among these swarming thousands of emigrants there were not only Puritans but Congregationalists. Even the Sea Venture had quite a number of these in her small company, who would gladly have remained on the island and begun at once its permanent settlement, instead of going on to Virginia. But they were treated as mutineers and compelled to leave the islands. Strachy gives the names of several of these men: Stephen Hopkins, Richard Knowles, Francis Pierpoint, William Martin, Nicholas Bennet, and John Want are among those whom he calls mutineers, "sectaries" and even "Brownists." Yet he admits that some of them had "much knowledge in the Scriptures and could reason well therein . . . who made much profession of Scripture," and in their prayers were "much devout and frequent;" though one at least of them was "suspected by our minister for a Brownist." And he is compelled to admit, that with these men who wished to remain at the Bermudas—mutineers, sectaries and Brownists though they were in his estimation—"a major part of the common sort, and perhaps some of the better sort" of the Sea Venture's company sympathized.*

These Puritans had been offended and alarmed on the passage from England, and during their residence on the islands, by the severe discipline to which they had been subjected—including their compulsory daily attendance on the liturgical

* *Purchas*, iv, p. 1714.

services of the Church of England. So they feared that in Virginia "nothing but wretchedness and labor must be expected, with many wants and a churlish entreaty." Still, they were compelled to go on, or suffer as mutineers,* though some of them were persons of property as well as of intelligence, and carried with them handsome outfits. But such colonists—driven into Virginia by brute force—were not likely to remain longer than was absolutely necessary, and no doubt embraced the earliest opportunity to return to the Somers Islands.

The first colonists sent out by the Somers Company in the ship "Plough"—sixty in number, under the command of Captain Richard More, a very capable, energetic and practical man—who arrived at the islands early in July, 1612, had a minister or chaplain, "Master Keath;" and as early as 1614, there was another minister among them, "Master Lewes Hues," or Lewis Hewes.† Though perhaps good men, and not unlearned, they were neither of them model clergymen. They mingled in the cabals of the colonists, and made so much trouble at one time, that Hewes got imprisoned; and at another time, Keath found himself so manifestly in the wrong that he was constrained, upon

* *Strachy* speaks of the daily religious services which the whole company were compelled to attend, or be "duly punished" for neglecting.

† *Smith's Gen. Hist.*, 178, 180, 181, 190.

his knees, to ask the governor's pardon. Subsequently another preacher, with his wife and children, was sent to the islands. Yet in 1621 there was but one minister in the colony, containing more than fifteen hundred souls, scattered over twenty miles of territory.

The first colonists, according to one of their own number, began well; for he says: "As soon as we had landed all our company, we went all to praise and give thanks unto the Lord for our safe arrival. The next day, being the Sabbath day, which we dedicated to God in the best manner we could, we abode still in the aforesaid land [near St. George's land, where they first disembarked] with all the rest of our company, till Monday morning, being the thirteenth of July, 1612." *

On the 2d of August, immediately following their arrival, a sort of plantation covenant, similar to what was employed subsequently by the Puritans of New England, was drawn up and subscribed by the governor, council, and colonists generally. In this they recognized the great goodness of God in bringing them safely to the Somers Islands, and promised and bound themselves, in the presence of the most glorious God, as follows: 1. To worship "the only true and ever living God, who made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that therein is; and that, according to those rules that are presented in His most holy Word; and ever to continue

* In *Purchas*, iv, 1793.

in that faith into the which we were baptized in the Church of England, and to stand in defence of the same against all Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and all other Heretikes and Sectaries whatsoever dissenting from the said Word and Faith." 2. "Because the keeping of the Sabbath day holy is that wherein a principall part of God's worship doth consist, and is, as it were, the key of all the parts thereof," they promise to refrain on that day from all secular work except that of "meere necessitie," and from all "vaine and unfruitfull practices," and to apply themselves to "the hearing of God's word, prayer, and all other exercises of religion in His word required." 3. They pledge themselves to refrain from profane swearing, scoffing, abusing of God's word; and to live together without stealing, quarreling, or slandering; and to avoid, to the utmost of their power, "all things that stand not with the good estate of a Christian church and well-governed commonwealth." 4. They pledge their loyalty to King James, his heirs and successors. 5. They promise to be honest and faithful to the company under whose patronage they had come out, and to be obedient to their governors and reverential toward the ministry or ministers of the Gospel, sent, or to be sent. 6. And finally they promise,* the Lord assisting them, manfully to fight as true Englishmen

* In *Purchas*, iv, 1796; *Anderson* (1, 300-3) copies this covenant.

for the defence of the commonwealth in which they lived, and while they had breath not to yield to any that should invade them.*

These engagements and pledges, it must be admitted, were generally well adapted to secure the blessing of God and the prosperity of the colony. How it would have been had there been no considerable immediate addition to the original colonists cannot be known. But it is very certain that, with the rapid multiplication of planters and laborers, there was great divergence from the spirit of this plantation covenant. Public worship, however, was continued regularly, ministers being sent out from England; meeting-houses were built, and efforts made to stem the torrent of profaneness and Sabbath-breaking, drinking and other vicious habits, which soon became rife in the colony. But notwithstanding the avowed loyalty of the first colonists to the Church of England, there is no evidence that there was ever any very strict observance of her peculiar rites and ceremonies in the Somers Islands. To the contrary, we are expressly told that both of the ministers of the colony in 1618-19 openly dissented from the Book of Common Prayer; and Smith tells us* that there was no uniformity of worship in the islands until 1619, and then but a partial one. About that time the order of the Reformed French churches, or the Genevan liturgy, was introduced

* *Gen. Hist. Bermudas*, 192.

as a compromise between Governor Butler on one side, and the ministers and the people generally on the other side.* And Smith, in describing Butler's many and important labors for the colony, and the difficulties which he had to encounter, says: "Now amongst all those troubles it was not the least to bring the two ministers to subscribe to the Booke of Common Praier, which all the Bishops of England could not doe." For he continues: "Finding it high time to attempt more conformitie [the governor] bethought himself of the Litergie of Garnsey and Jerse, wherein all those particulars they so much stumbled at were omitted. No sooner was this propounded but it was gladly imbraced by them both; whereupon the governor translated it verbatim out of French into English, and caused the eldest minister upon Easter day to begin the use thereof at St. George's towne, where himselfe, most of the councell, officers, and auditorie received the sacrament; the which forme they continued during the time of his government." †

* It seems to have been the policy of the company to change governors often. Thus, Governor More was superseded by Capt. Daniel Tucker in 1616; and he in his turn, by Capt. Butler in 1619; who gave place to another governor in a few years, who was superseded by another, and so on; changing about every three or four years; Captains Sayle, Foster and Timm all occupying the office previous to 1647.

† Smith, 192; *Purchas*, iv, 1804; *Neal's Hist. Puritans*, 11, 94; *Anderson's Hist. Ch'h En. in Colonies*, 1, 308-10. Neal says the isles of Guernsey and Jersey enjoyed the discipline of the French

About this time a new effort was made by the governor, at the suggestion of the ministers, to enforce a better observance of the Sabbath; and a proclamation was issued with this in view. This seems to have been suggested at this particular time by the narrow escape from shipwreck of a multitude of fishing boats, and the actual loss of one or more of them by a sudden hurricane, which overtook them one pleasant Sunday what engaged in fishing just off the islands. Connected with this attempt to secure a better observance of the Lord's Day were efforts to correct drunkenness and gaming, which had become somewhat prevalent among the islanders.

But it is quite apparent that, with all the efforts at reformation, there was no increase of conformity to the Book of Common Prayer among the Somers Islanders. For though their governor and council had been especially required by the London Company, in 1637, to see that "the books of

churches without disturbance all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and this liberty was confirmed to them by James, August 8, 1603. *Anderson* says that these islands received, at the time of the Reformation, a French translation of the Prayer Book of Edward VI; but that a number of French Protestants who had adopted the Genevan model in their churches fled to these islands in Elizabeth's time, and were allowed to retain their church polity; while the English service was required of others. But after a time, the increase of refugees and other causes induced a pretty general disuse of the English liturgy, which continued till after 1619, when a revival of English liturgical service was decreed by the Privy Council.

Homilies and Common Prayer be read in all the churches; that when the holy sacrament is received, the reverent posture of kneeling be adopted; and that the minister use the accustomed prayers, and decent ceremony of signing with the cross in baptism" — all which things had evidently fallen into general disuse previously — notwithstanding these stringent orders, in 1639 we find Archbishop Laud complaining "that a great part of the Somers Island Company in general, the governor and council and others in special, are nonconformists." The London Company denied this impeachment, saying that the archbishop's declaration was "strange to them," and insisted, as a proof of their conformity, that they had sent over books of homilies and of common prayer, with strict commands to have them used daily; in fact, that they had "to the uttermost of their power enjoined conformity to the church." * Still, the archbishop was better informed about the ecclesiastical condition of the islands than the Somers Company was; for at the very time he was making his complaints, the nonconformable elements there had gathered formidable proportions, and were gradually being moulded into the definitive form of a Congregational church. Thus Richard Norwood, an old settler, a surveyor and a schoolmaster, who was well informed and generally intelligent,

* *Calendar of Col. State Papers*, September 4, 1639; also, August 30, 1639.

but a bitter enemy of the new movement, addressed the governor of the islands, Captain Josiah Foster and Council, in March, 1642-3: "I know you are not ignorant of the rent or division here begun, which though I believe (as you have often testified) you favour not, yet through your gentlenesse and forbearance towards these Authors and Abettors, it grows very strong, and is like to prevaile, which I suppose you know not, but may further understand if you be pleased to make enquiry and to hear other men. For mine own part I frame not this as a complaint or accusation against them, being but one man, and the matter concerns all; besides I have seen the successe that others have had that waye, and I know they are too strong a party for mee, or any one man to encounter with. But being very sensible of the danger approaching, lest by my silence I might seem to consent unto it, I thought it necessary to give notice, and to endeavor what in mee lies to prevent it, whatsoever may befall mee for so doing." *

And Beake, another schoolmaster and a violent opponent, writing of the period between 1642-44, speaks of the ministers "gathering swarmes of people into their owne houses as Conventicles; and there reading, singing, praying and preaching, yea, if the truth were knowne, the sacraments also administered in their private houses." And he adds

* In *Prynne's Fresh Discovery*, etc., pp. 59-60.

that there were in one small tribe, or parish, "three or foure such severall places of meetings, and the houses of God destitute." *

Norwood, in another communication to the governor and company of adventurers to the Somers Islands, dated February 28, 1642-3, after detailing his disagreement with the minister, says: "The ministers, especially Nathaniel White, have had main sway in the government the past year, Capt. Wil. Sayle, the governor, being wholly guided by them." † And in the "Petition and Declaration" of Norwood and his associates to the company, probably some time in the winter and spring of 1644-5, it is said that two of the governors of the island had "submitted to the Independent Covenant, and have set up a supreme gouverneur in their church, that will not wait upon king nor keysar." ‡

From all this, it is quite evident that not only nonconformity, but actual Independency was at that time prevailing extensively on the Somers Islands.

In explanation of the ecclesiastical and religious condition of these pleasant islands which has now been described, it is necessary to notice the fact that for several years the islanders had felt the influence and enjoyed the particular instructions

* In *Prynne*, 53.

† *Calendar of C. S. P.*, under date.

‡ In *Prynne*, 32

of several distinguished and influential Puritans. Among these may be mentioned the Rev. John Oxenbridge, of Oxford and Cambridge; who, after several years' service in the English colonies, came to New England in 1669, and was ordained colleague with the Rev. Mr. Allen over the First Church in Boston.

Another remarkable man, whose life was as full of adventure as was Captain John Smith's, and who helped to form the religious character of these same islanders, was Nicholas Leverton, of Oxford University. He began his ministry at Barbadoes as early as 1638. From thence he went to Tobago, to form a new settlement. But being driven away by the Caribs, he escaped to Providence Island, where he remained some time, and then, after various adventures and hair-breadth escapes, he found himself providentially at the Somers Islands, where he married, and lived some time, heartily coöperating with the dissenting ministers whom he there found.

Still another very remarkable scholar, politician and writer — but not a divine — who visited these islands during their formative state, was Andrew Marvell, the friend of John Oxenbridge, the intimate of John Milton, and his associate as Latin Secretary of the Protector Cromwell.

Neither of these three gentlemen, however, remained long at the Somers Islands. But there were three excellent ministers who were permanent residents on the islands, and contributed

largely to the organization of a Congregational church there. These were the Rev. Nathaniel White, Rev. William Golding, and Rev. Patrick Copeland.

Nathaniel White was originally minister at Knightsbridge, near Westminster, England, and about 1638 left England to become the minister of two of the Somers Island "tribes." * Whether he had already shown some want of zeal for churchly ways; or because the company had experienced the facility with which Puritan divines, when removed from the immediate restraints of the Hierarchy, became Independents; or whether it was to quiet the inquisitive demands of the Archbishop — whether for any or all of these reasons, or some other — Mr. White before going to Bermuda was put under bonds of two hundred pounds sterling, to remain "conformable" for three years. This, however, was no hardship to a Conformable Puritan, as White then was; especially as the comparatively unobjectionable liturgy of

* The Somers Islands were divided, for convenience, into eight departments or counties, called "tribes," each of which was taken to be a parish for ecclesiastical purposes, and named after one of the principal adventurers in the company: Bedford, Smith, Cavendish, Pembroke, Paget, Warwick, Southampton, and Sandys. The whole property in these islands was divided into fifty shares, each adventurer having assigned to him from one share to twenty-five shares, according to his pecuniary interest in the undertaking. Smith gives a complete list of the adventurers, and of the number of shares assigned to each. — *Gen. Hist. Bermudas*, pp. 188-9.

Edward VI was then in use upon the islands.* Under this bond Mr. White went out to the Somers Islands. He faithfully kept his promise; indeed did far more, for it was some four years after going out before he renounced the English Hierarchy, though his bond was not then cancelled nor taken up, nor for years afterwards. White was a scholar and divine; a man of ability, energy, and great executive capacity; a keen and very able controversialist, quick and sharp-witted. His enemies accused him of assumption and arrogance; but they never called in question his moral or religious character. On the contrary, even Beake, who hated him, and opposed, or misrepresented, or perverted everything that was done by him and the new church, was constrained to say: "Mr. White hath been and is a worthy and reverend teacher, which causeth many, yea most people, the easier and sooner to be deceived, as also by humble carriage and pious walking, which is such, that, as our Saviour saith, is able to deceive the very elect."†

White was doubtless the moving spirit of the new enterprise,‡ bore a large share of the hard work involved in the movement, and much more

* *Smith's Gen. Hist. Bermudas*, 192.

† Letter to Prynne, in *Fresh Discovery*, etc., p. 68.

‡ This appears from all that is said about Mr. White by his personal enemies, Beake and Norwood, and from the entire history of this movement. — See particularly, *Cal. of C. S. P.*, February 28, 1641-2.

than a fair proportion of the obloquy and abuse which it provoked.

Of William Golding very little is known. Neither his name, nor that of Nathaniel White, is found among the graduates of Oxford or Cambridge; but yet he appears to have been a man of good scholastic and theological attainments, and, though a younger man than either of his associates, was a very important and influential agent in the new movement.* White calls him "a precious man." He was sent out to the islands by the company before August 30, 1639,† and remained there until the autumn of 1646.

The eldest of the three ministers who were active in this church organization, and the last, probably, to embrace fully the Congregational system, was the venerable Patrick Copeland, then between seventy and eighty years of age, an old and devoted friend of Christian colonization. He not only employed his pen and his tongue in stimulating others, but he gave himself personally to the work. He was first a chaplain to the East India Company; and on his way home, about 1621, conceived the plan of establishing a church and a school in Virginia; and with characteristic energy and promptness, began at once to collect funds from the officers and crew of the "Royal James," East Indiaman, of which he was then chaplain.

* Beake, in *Prynne*, 52, 53.

† *Cal. of Col. State Papers*, under date.

This work he followed up on arriving in England, and so successfully, that the endowment of his school was considered sufficient in 1622 to authorize the sending out of workmen to Virginia, to begin the necessary buildings for the college. Mr. Copeland was made a member of the Virginia Company, was appointed one of the Council of State for Virginia, and was chosen rector of the Henrico College, in Virginia. Though this, like many other grand enterprises of the day, failed, yet Copeland never slackened his efforts, nor lost his interest in western colonization and the Christian education of the natives. And about the year 1637, on receiving a legacy of three hundred pounds from his friend, Nicholas Ferrar, to establish an Indian school in the Somers Islands, went personally to those islands, to set his school in operation and to do the work of an evangelist, though then about seventy years old. He was there in December, 1638; for among Hugh Peters' letters, we find one addressed to Patrick Copeland, at the Somers Island, dated "Salem 10: 10 ber 1638:"* and in the Winthrop Papers there is a long letter from Mr. Copeland, addressed to Governor Winthrop, written at "Pagets-Tribe [Somers Island] this 4th of December 1639;" which shows that this veteran colonizationist was still full of zeal for the improvement of the Indians of our continent.†

* *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, series iv, vol. vi, p. 98.

† *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, s. v, vol. i, 277-80.

From another letter in the Winthrop Papers, it seems that this good old man was still at work for his Master, in the Somers Islands, as late as September, 1647, though evidently in much affliction on account of the church of his love.*

For several years the religious instruction of the Somers islanders was chiefly in the hands of the three devoted clergymen. There was, besides these gentlemen, one churchman, a part of the time, who did not join in the new movement, the Rev. Mr. Bridges, spoken of by Mr. White in his "Vindication" as one from whom the islanders could receive instruction, and who administered the ordinances according to the Book of Common Prayer. But Bridges makes no figure in the controversy which attended the organization of a Congregational church in the islands.

The first public movement in that direction was made by Governor Sayle, who requested the Congregational ministers to preach a weekly lecture to the people. This they consented to do if they might "hold out to the people the way of the churches in the New Testament." To this the governor "willingly yielded; though as yet hee himselfe [was] not a member — his wife being." † The lectures were preached on Wednesdays, were continued for an entire year, and seem to have contained a pretty full and orderly presentation of

* *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, s. v, vol. 1, 350-53.

† *Copeland's Letter to Gov. Winthrop*, Sept. 30, 1647.

the church polity of the New Testament. The first lecture was devoted to a consideration of the foundation principles of a church of Christ, the second discussed the qualifications required to become a church member, and then followed the consideration of the particular form and order of a church of Christ. Judging from Mr. White's subsequently published *Vindication* of this church, which undoubtedly contains an outline of the doctrines taught in this course of lectures, the discussion was thorough and radical, and the system promulgated and advocated was entirely Congregational and Scriptural; the same in all essential particulars as that derived from the same general sources by the New England churches and divines.*

Besides this public service for the information and instruction of all who pleased to attend, the three ministers established neighborhood conference and prayer meetings, having the additional characteristics of the modern "Sociables," so called. Those who were favorably inclined to the new "way" met weekly at each others' houses, and after prayer and conference, had a plain entertainment and free social intercourse. These meetings were nick-named by their enemies, "Lob-lolly Feasts." An hour or two was also devoted every week about noon to catechizing the children and youth; in which service a catechism prepared

* Norwood, in *Prynne*, p. 70; *White's Vindication*, *passim*.

by Mr. Oxenbridge was used, entitled "Babes' Milk." *

After a year or more devoted to the enlightenment of the people, on the last day of January, 1648-4, a public fast was observed, after the manner of the New England churches. In the afternoon, the three ministers publicly laid down their offices and ministry in the Church of England, and announced themselves private men who had entered into covenant with each other as a church of Christ, and were ready to receive into their fellowship such others as were prepared to assent to the covenant on which they had agreed.

On this, Robert Kesteven, one of the governor's council, came forward, assented to the covenant, and was admitted to the church. Subsequently, two other leading men of the colony, Captain William Wilkinson, afterwards commander of the chief castle of the island and nominated as governor, and Stephen Paynter, another of the council, were admitted on confession of their faith, relation of their experience and submission to the covenant. From time to time others were admitted in like manner, to the number of thirty or forty persons.† Everything being at length ready, the

* *Beake*, in *Prynne*, 51-2.

† *Cal. of C. S. P.*, February 13, 1650-51; and November 18, 1656; *Prynne*, 87. Are these the two gentlemen recommended in a letter from the Somers Island Company in London, to the special attention of the governor of the island, February 25, 1642? — "We have also thought fit to recommend to the special

church came together on the 15th of May, 1644, for the choice and installation of officers. The Rev. Nathaniel White was then chosen pastor, Mr. William Golding and Mr. Patrick Copeland ruling elders, and Mr. Robert Kesteven, deacon.*

Thus deliberately and prayerfully was this Somers Island Congregational church constituted, after at least a year's consideration, discussion and preparation.† And though, as the pastor said, they drew not their mould after the pattern of the churches of New England, yet "they differed not from them in any one substantial;" and the New England churches gave the Somers Island church "the right hand of fellowship, and filled their mouths and pulpits too with the high praises of God for what he had done."‡

And the church evidently deserved this good name. It was composed of the very best materials in the islands. The pastor did not hesitate

care of yourself, Mr. Painter and Mr. William Wilkinson, that you may give all manner of encouragement to the ministers, and that nothing be ordered or done whereby they may take offence, but be as free in matters which concern the church as may be, that they be not infringed of the liberty of their conscience, lest, being discouraged, the islands come to be deserted, for want of faithful ministers." — *White's Vindication*, 46.

* *Beake*, in *Prynne*, 53.

† *Beake*, in writing to *Prynne* as early as 1646, perhaps a year earlier, says: "Thus in briefe have I laid you downe the order and manner of their church from the beginning to this present, which hath been in agitation these four or five years." — In *White's Vindication*, p. 39; and in *Prynne's Fresh Discovery*, p. 55.

‡ *White's Vindication*, 51.

to assert in the face of its bitterest enemies: "It is well known, that there is not a more intelligent people, in the matters of God, in the island, than they are." And Norwood, writing to Prynne after this declaration had been published, so far from contradicting it, confirms it, saying: "If he were worthy to show his mind and advice [in reference to the contending religious parties on the island] the most that fear God, adhering rather to the Independent than Presbyterian way, and being necessitated to choose one, conceives that Mr. Prynne would do very well to use some Christian insinuations into their [the Independent's] favors and good opinions, without flattering them in their error in any sort." *

But neither the accomplishments and excellences of its officers, nor the acknowledged religious superiority of its members, could ensure the church from the personal hostility of the men who hated the truth for the truth's sake; and hated this movement especially, for its religious exclusiveness. Among the most prominent and virulent of these enemies was one Richard Beake, already repeatedly referred to, an old resident on the islands and an old man; who acted as a school-master, and had been a reader or clerk in some of the parish churches until his immoralities shut him out. He naturally bore enmity against the Independent church, because it would admit no one to

* *White's Vindication*, 44; *Calendar of C. S. P.*, May 15, 1647.

its fellowship, nor baptize the children of any but those who were willing to make open confession of their faith, and were able to give satisfactory evidence of being regenerated persons. Beake had, too, a quarrel with the pastor, Mr. White, because he had prevented him from getting the office of reader in one of the parishes, after he had shown his utter unfitness for the office.

Richard Norwood, another old resident, a surveyor and a public schoolmaster, receiving compensation from the company in London, became likewise a violent opponent of the new church and its pastor. His opposition may be traced to grounds quite similar to those on which Beake's rested — personal dislike of the principles of the church and a private quarrel with Mr. White. In addition to all, both Beake and Norwood were in a sense apostates from the faith and practice of the new church. They were men of considerable ability, were ready of speech, and ready writers. It is not unlikely that they had influential supporters and backers among the islanders, who do not appear. But so far as does appear, they were for awhile the chief, if not the only open opponents of the new church at the Somers Islands. And not contented with personal efforts on the islands — getting up petitions and remonstrances, writing complaints to the governor, etc. — they both did their worst to prejudice the company in London, and the Parliament too.

Among other things, they wrote long letters to

William Prynne, Esq., M.P., one of the best haters and most indefatigable controversialists in England. He held in about equal detestation Prelatism and Independency; and was only too glad to be able to give publicity to the slanders of these men against the Independents of the Somers Islands—though specially requested by Beake not to show his letter to any one excepting some sure friend. Very opportunely for his purpose, Prynne was just then publishing his famous attack on the Independents and all who opposed Presbyterian sway, under the flaming title of “A Fresh Discovery of some Prodigious New-Wandering Blazing-Stars and Firebrands, Stiling themselves New Lights, Firing our Church and State into New Combustions,” etc., etc.* In the second edition of this heavy pamphlet, published probably in 1646, were added: “Some Letters, Papers, and a Petition lately sent from the Summer Islands, relating to the Schismaticall, Illegal, Tyrannicall proceedings of some Independents there,† in gathering

* I have given about a tenth part of the full title of this remarkable book, small quarto, 188 pages. Prynne was a man of vast erudition, an indefatigable and voluminous writer, but violent and impracticable. This “Fresh Discovery,” etc., seems to have escaped Mr. Allibone’s careful, six-column notice of Prynne’s works. The only copy of this rare book that I have met with is the property of that careful collector of old historical works and distinguished antiquarian, Dr. Charles Deane, Secretary of the Mass. Hist. Society, to whose courtesy I am much indebted for the use of this and other rare old books.

† See Norwood’s letter to Prynne, dated May 15, 1647, in *Calendar of Col. State Papers*, under date.

their new churches, to the great Distraction and prejudice of that Plantation," etc., etc.

The Rev. Mr. White, pastor of the church, chanced to be in London at that very time, on business pertaining to his church, and lost no time in making a full and conclusive answer to all the falsehoods and slanders which Prynne had adopted and published with his own comments and enlargements. Mr. White's book was a small quarto, of one hundred and eighty-eight pages, not unlike in external appearance the book which it answered, and was entitled: "A Vindication of the Practice of the Church of Christ in the Summer Islands," etc., etc. It is without date, but must have been published either in 1646, or very early in 1647; for it was in Norwood's hands, at the Somers Islands, in May, 1647, and he tells Prynne in a subsequent letter, that he "was about to have written a treatise, dialogue-wise, against the Independents, especially touching Mr. White's book;" but that it was reported that Mr. Prynne had answered it. If there was any such answer to White it has escaped my inquiries. It certainly would have been a difficult task, even for Prynne, to have answered White's book; in fact, an impossible thing, so far as the Vindication related to the character and statements of Prynne's correspondents. And so far as Master Prynne himself was concerned, there was very little excuse for an answer; for White speaks very courteously of Prynne, though he expresses his surprise that he should have lent

himself to the dirty work undertaken by Norwood, Beake, and other traducers of the Somers Island church.

From about the time now under review the Somers Island Independent church is involved in the history of other religious movements in neighboring islands, and will be continued briefly in the history of those movements.

CHAPTER XV.

**PERSECUTION OF THE SOMERS ISLAND CHURCH AND REMOVAL TO
THE BAHAMAS — CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE BAHAMA ISLANDS,
1648-1656 — CONGREGATIONALISM AT NEW PROVIDENCE ISLAND,
1639-1641.**

THE confused and unsatisfactory state of things in England, referred to in the preceding chapter, emboldened the enemies of the Congregational church at the Somers Islands to disturb and distress the members in various ways.

During the administration of Governor Sayle the church experienced no public or special opposition. But under his successors, Captain Josiahs Forster or Foster, and Captain Thomas Timm, they were subjected to various indignities, oppressions, and even persecutions, ending in the official exclusion of the Independents from all offices of trust or emolument, and all participation whatever in the government of the island, and the silencing of their ministers. Foreseeing the coming storm, the Rev. Mr. White had sailed for London, to secure the favor of the London Company and the interposition of Parliament, and in the autumn of 1646, Captain Sayle and the Rev. Mr. Golding were sent by the church to coöperate with their pastor in London.*

* Copeland's Letter, *M. H. S. C.*, vol. 1, series v, 350; *Winslow's*
(381)

The Somers Island Company at first received these messengers with evident disfavor, and were ready to justify the Governor and Council in their wrong-doings; or, as the messengers wrote home, they were "very high at first." But they became more moderate after being rightly informed of the state of affairs on the islands, and finally, the messengers say, seemed "inclinaire to heare our complaints and to right us in the wrongs wee have sustained by our Governor, Council, and Assembly."

Though they found Parliament "full of businesse, and a great body moving slowly," they succeeded at last in getting an ordinance passed, granting liberty of conscience "to all suche in Somer Islands as have entered into church fellowship, and shall (in future) joyne themselves thereto." And not only this, but commanding "all Gover^{rs}, Magistrates, and Officers in America, to aide and assist them in the inioyment of their libertye wth peace, bothe here in Somer Islands, or anye other p^t of America whither God shall call them." *

Salamander; *Johnson's Wonderworking Prov.*, chap. 11. Sayle and Golding were in Boston, on their way to England, in the autumn of 1646. The General Court of Massachusetts were so much touched by their report of the sad state of the Somers Island church, that they make special mention of it in the proclamation for a fast, December 1, 1646: "In consideration of y^e hazardous estate of o^r native country and troubles thereof, y^e sad estate of y^e church of Bermuda," etc., "y^e corte hath appointed y^e 24th of y^e 10th m^o, . . . to be kept a day of publike humiliation," etc., etc. — *Records Mass. Bay*, 11, 167.

* See William Rener's letter to Governor Winthrop, dated

But all this was of no avail with the island authorities, no more than like injunctions were with the government of Virginia. In the confusion of the times, the governing authorities of the distant colonies were able to do very much their own will and pleasure in regard to local affairs. Unfortunately, the rulers, and perhaps a majority of the inhabitants of the Somers Islands about this time, were more friendly to the royal cause than to the parliamentary, showing itself subsequently in an absolute revolt from parliamentary rule, when the death of Charles I was declared to be a "bloody, traitorous, and rebellious" act; and Charles II was proclaimed as their sovereign, with the announcement that they would "be governed but by the king's laws." They went so far, even, as to enforce the oaths of supremacy to the king, and imprisoned those who refused them, and banished some of the Independents who still remained

"Somer Islands, laste of firste moneth, 1646"-7, *Winthrop Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. 1, series v, pp. 340-2, 350-4.

In Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, September 7, 1658, p. 468, there is a reference to a report of a committee for America, on a petition of several inhabitants and others of the Bermudas to the Privy Council, complaining of Captain William Sayle as a "scandalous person," and accusing him of "being intimate with Mr. Viner and Mr. Hooper, scandalous ministers." May not this Mr. Viner and this Mr. Renner be one and the same person? A "scandalous minister," in the estimation of these petitioners, would be a nonconformist. Spelling was not one of the fine arts in those days; and in nothing does this appear more evident than in the various ways in which proper names were then written.

in the islands, declaring that "they were of that party that put the king to death." And, what is more, the company in England encouraged these proceedings.* Besides this hostility of the loyalists, the Congregational church at the Somers Islands had to encounter the enmity of all the irreligious and of all who hated Puritanical strictness; also that of a pretty strong body of Presbyterians, who, while agreeing with the Independents in doctrine, were almost as hostile to them as were the Prelatists, the loyalists, or the irreligionists. It was the combination, or rather coöperation of these hostile elements which went to make the condition of the Congregationalists on Somers Island finally insupportable, and compelled them to abandon their beautiful home there, with all the comforts and conveniences which they had gathered around them. In anticipation of this result, and as a preparation to meet it, the church and their messengers in London had been on the lookout for a distant, uninhabited island, to which they might remove. In some way, we know not exactly how, their attention was turned towards the Bahama Islands, just off the coast of Florida; and a patent

* See the report of Col. Owen, Deputy Governor of the Somers Islands, to the Council of State, in *Calendar of C. S. P.*, pp. 449-50.

This change in public sentiment is explained by the fact that with the rising power of Parliament, the English loyalists had resorted largely to the Somers Islands for quiet homes, and finally became a controlling element of the population there.

was procured from Parliament, authorizing them to settle on any of those islands, or on any other in American waters, with "suche priviledges and immunityes as hitherto hath not been granted, bothe for soul and bodye."

In 1645 and 1646 two vessels were despatched to the Bahamas, to select a suitable island. One of these vessels was lost, with all on board. The other returned, without making the necessary discovery. This last vessel was sent in the summer of 1646.

But not discouraged, though humbled by their disappointments, in the spring of 1646-7, the church set apart a day for fasting and prayer, as, they say, "to humble o'selves before the Lorde and crave his blessed advise therein;" resolved that if "at the time of sekeinge the Lorde, we find noe contradiction in o' spirits unto the worke, there being a shipp in the harbour to be procured, we are fullye determined, indeede necessitated there unto, to sett her forthe once more upon discoverye."*

With this in view, a new shallop of six tons burden had been built by the people, and a vessel had been procured by Captain Sayle and William Rener of the Somers Island church; and at the time Rener's letter was written to Governor Winthrop (March, 1646-7) — from which the above quotations are made — it was proposed to send out

* *Rener's Letter, ut sup.*

the two vessels in company, about the first of May, 1647, on a voyage of discovery.

Whether this voyage was made, we are not certainly informed; but the fair presumption is, that it was made, and was successful in the discovery of suitable islands for their purpose. The shallop then it is likely returned to the Somers Island, to report success, while Captain Sayle, in the larger vessel, made his way direct to England, there to raise the necessary pecuniary means for the removal and settlement of this body of Christians on one of the Bahama islands.*

The island selected by Captain Sayle for the occupancy of the persecuted church was known then as Ciguatao or Cigateo, and subsequently as Eleutheria, or Eleuthera, or Alabaster Island. It is a long, irregular island, about eighty miles in length, and of an average width of ten miles, situate about fifty miles northeast of New Providence

* This account of the movements of the church is the result of a comparison of Governor Winthrop's *Journal*, vol. II, 334-36, and William Renner's letter to the Governor, dated "Somers Island, laste of firste moneth, 1646," with two letters from the Rev. Patrick Copeland to Winthrop; one dated "Pagets-Tribe, this 4th of December, 1639," and the other at "George's Prison, Christ's Schole, this last of the 7th mo., 47;" all in the *Winthrop Papers*, pp. 277-80, 340-42, 350-54. — *Mass. Hist. Soc.'s Coll.*, vol. I, series v. The chief difficulty in the way of these suppositions is, that Captain Sayle must have been in England during a part at least of the winter of 1646-7. Still it is possible that he may have returned to Bermuda in season to make this voyage.

Island, just on a line, northwest and southeast, with San Salvador, and separated from great Abaco on the north by Providence channel, in the latitude of the southern point of Florida. It had to recommend it, a healthy climate and a fertile soil. It is the outside, seaward island of the Bahama group, and large enough for all the colonization purposes of the Somers Island Christians; while it was not near enough to any other island to be liable to encroachments, and yet not too remote from some of them for convenient intercourse if desired.

Captain Sayle, on arriving in England, set himself at once to prepare for the contemplated settlement in the Bahamas. He found friends of the church and the enterprise in London, who were willing to furnish pecuniary aid, and probably to provide a larger and better vessel than the one purchased at the Somers Islands by himself and Renner; and after the manner of the times, a company was organized to manage the business, and Captain Sayle was appointed governor of the colony for three years. Among other arrangements, the company drew up a "covenant," as it was called, which every colonist was required to sign. This was a very liberal one — in some respects too liberal, as events proved. Absolute liberty of conscience was guaranteed to every settler; the civil magistrate was not allowed to take cognizance of any matter which concerned religion; but every man was to be allowed to enjoy his own opinion —

religious or irreligious — without control or question. But unfortunately, no provision was made for the maintenance of any form of religion or worship in the colony, nor for the protection of those who chose to worship in any form whatever. There was also a provision in the Captain's commission as governor, that he should be subject to any subsequent orders from the London Company, and should retain his commission but three years.*

On these terms a company was organized, a ship provisioned and supplied with all necessaries for the enterprise, and more or less adventurers were enlisted in England. And probably early in the spring of 1647-8, Captain Sayle took his departure, first, for the Somers Islands. Mr. White, the pastor of the church, then in London, probably embarked in the same vessel.

On their arrival at the Islands, the little church was found ready to undertake the hazardous and self-denying enterprise of migrating to a distant, uninhabited island, in order to enjoy their Christian rights and privileges undisturbed. And with them, their venerable elder, Mr. Copeland, then nearly eighty years old, was equally ready to go.

The entire membership of the church may not have entered into this movement; † but certainly

* *Winthrop's Hist. N. E.*, II, 334-5.

† That all the Independents of the Somers Islands did not remove at once seems probable, from a commission appointing

the body of the church did, enough to make the ship's company, on leaving the islands, seventy souls. With this goodly company, the Captain sailed for the Bahamas.

On the passage, the unfitness of some of the company for Christian colonists began to appear. It was found that some of the men enlisted in England preferred fiddling and frolicking, to preaching and praying. And this was not the worst of it; these men assumed the right to engage in their amusements at times when the church wished to worship, to the great annoyance and disturbance of the worshippers. A leader in this shameless course was one Captain Butler, a young man who embarked at London.* He seems to have been a man of considerable address and influence, though quite destitute of true gentlemanly and Christian instincts, and succeeded in drawing around him so large a party as to make it evident that the church would gain very little by their change of residence, if they attempted a new settlement with such incongruous materials. So, after reaching their destination, they felt constrained to give up their chosen island, or the part of it on which they had

Cornelius Holland, Colonel Owen Rowe, Sir Thomas Worth, and fourteen others, a company for the plantation of Somers Island, June 28, 1653, for the reason that many well affected persons there had been much oppressed and unjustly dealt with, in relation to matters of conscience.— *Calendar of Col. State Papers, sub anno.*

* *Hubbard's New Eng.*, p. 523.

first landed, to these irreligious interlopers, rather than to attempt to live in their company and; taking ship again, sailed for a neighboring island, or it may be, a remote part of the same island. But just as they were entering their destined haven, the vessel struck on some treacherous rocks, which abound in those waters, and became a total wreck. They were near enough to land, however, to save their lives, one person only being lost; but their goods and provisions and various supplies were lost, and the poor, baffled Christians were cast, utterly destitute and forlorn, upon an uninhabited island, remote from any possible relief.

Having at last got safely to land, the company succeeded for awhile in living, without shelter, on the fruits and wild animals of the island. But finding their strength beginning to fail, and apprehending utter starvation and death before any chance relief should reach them, they decided upon the desperate venture of manning a small boat—quite likely the shallop built at the Bermudas—and with such poor provisions as they could gather, attempting to reach some friendly island, or some settlement on the main land. The brave Captain Sayle, a man of indomitable energy and fertile in resources, was ready to lead this forlorn hope, and eight men were found willing to accompany him. Their plan was to reach Virginia, the Somers Islands, or New England, as wind and weather might most favor. A favoring Providence guided the little boat, not to their old home, but to

Virginia, which they were able to reach in nine days, though with their poor and scanty provisions all spent, and themselves ready to perish. Here they found friends to sympathize with them and relieve them. The Nansemond Congregational church could feel for their Somers Island brethren and sisters, for they themselves were living under a colonial government, and among a people quite as unfriendly to them as the Somers Island church had experienced, and were themselves considering the expediency of leaving Virginia for a more friendly soil. Besides this fellow-feeling for their persecuted friends, the Nansemonds were able and willing to relieve them. A barque was immediately chartered, and loaded with provisions and other necessities, and Captain Sayle and his little company were sent back rejoicing to their anxious, suffering friends at the Bahamas.

But before leaving, the captain laid before the Nansemond people the particulars of his enterprise, and urged them to unite with the Somers Islanders, and make a strong, harmonious settlement at the Bahamas. This seemed so hopeful and pleasant an arrangement that the Nansemonds were quite inclined towards it. But, on examining the captain's commission and the plantation covenant, they hesitated, and declined giving an answer until they had consulted their good friends in Massachusetts, to whom they sent immediately for advice. This was adverse to the plan; chiefly because of the non-religious character of Captain

Sayle's patent, and the entire absence of any provision for the maintenance of religion in the new colony.* The Nansemonds accepted and adopted this advice of the Massachusetts rulers. But with the light which we now have, one is tempted to doubt the wisdom of this decision. Had the strong and excellent body of Christians — "very orthodox and zealous for the truth," as Winthrop calls them — united with the Somers Island Congregationalists, and taken possession of Eleuthera, or some other suitable island in the Bahama group, how different might have been the subsequent history of those two churches, and how different might have been the history of that entire group of islands! Once fully established there, the Congregationalists would have drawn immigrants of kindred faith from England, and no inconsiderable number from New England, too; for there was about that time a very strong inclination among the northern colonists towards those mild and fertile regions of the south. And if the exact truth were known, it is not at all unlikely that this consideration had some weight with the Massachusetts authorities in deciding against the removal of the Nansemond church to Eleuthera. They feared to encourage this emigration spirit from New England.

Captain Sayle lost no time in making his way back to his distressed friends in the Bahamas, and

* See *Winthrop's Jour.*, 11, 335-6.

the supplies which he carried from Virginia afforded a most timely relief to the poor shipwrecked saints. But, cast as they were on an uninhabited island, their condition continued one of want and distress, which the New England churches hastened to alleviate as soon as it was known.* In six or eight of our churches contributions were immediately taken up for their benefit, amounting to the very handsome sum of eight hundred pounds. A small vessel was chartered, and loaded with corn and other necessities, and two influential brethren were appointed messengers of the churches, in true apostolic style, to carry these gifts, and to convey to the Somers Island church the cordial salutations and the deep sympathy of the New England churches. These generous gifts from New England, and the messengers of the churches who bore them, were most gratefully and joyously received by the suffering saints, and abundant thanksgivings were returned to the donors and to the Lord who had moved their hearts to these acts of kindness towards their unknown, but yet well-loved brethren of kindred faith on a distant island of the sea.

Upon the return of these messengers of the churches, August 6, 1650, a long letter of acknowledgments and thanks was received from the church at the Bahamas, addressed to the "Reverend and most Honor^d Brethren, and well beloved

* See *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence*, chap. xi.

Friends in the Lord Jesus." In their overflowing, grateful and pious utterances, the church say: "We have rec^d y^e pretious letters and plentiful provisions, sent unto us, poor exiles (for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus) by the hands of those faithful, pious and prudent gentlemen, Mr. James Pen and Mr. Abraham Palmore, the messengers of your churches and the glory of Christ." The letter bears date, "Ciguatoo, 17 (5) 1650" (July 17), and is signed "Your affectionately loving, though unworthy brethren, William Sayle, Nath. White, Robert Ridlye, in the name of the church."*

From this letter it appears that the faithful and excellent pastor of this church, Mr. White, accompanied his people from the Somers Island.†

* The two messengers of the churches who went with these gifts were most respectable and influential men. One of them, James Penn, was chosen as the governor's beadle, in 1630, and was a ruling elder in the Boston church, and a representative in 1648; evidently a prominent man in Church and State. Abraham Palmer was an original colonist, came over in 1629, and was town clerk and selectman, deputy to the first General Court in 1634, and five times afterwards, and was altogether a distinguished and influential citizen. He moved to Barbadoes and there died, about 1653. — See *Young's Chron. Mass.*, pp. 383 and 375.

† By an endorsement on the letter, in another hand, we learn that, in the vessel which brought the letter and the Boston messengers, came also "Mr. Painter, and Mr. White's son, Nat. Wh." It is probable, therefore, that this son was the "Nathaniel White" who was at Cambridge College from September 13, 1650, to November 4, 1653. — See *Sibley's Graduates of Harvard College*. *Felt*, i, 577, is certainly wrong; and so is *Farmer*, in

Of the subsequent history of this exiled church very little is known except that it continued on one of the Bahamas, though in an impoverished and suffering condition, as late as December, 1656. This we learn from orders in council, dated the 16th or 23d of that month, directing the governor or commander-in-chief at Jamaica to send a vessel to Eleuthera, to invite the English Protestants who had been driven from their residence at Somers Island to that island (alleged to be about sixty in number), to Jamaica; and in case of their removal hence, to clothe and provide victuals and other necessary accommodations for them; and if they were not disposed to go to Jamaica, then to send them to England.*

supposing that the Harvard White was the pastor of the Bermuda church.

A copy of the original letter has been preserved among the Dunster Manuscripts, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. But the peculiarities of the copyist make it very difficult to decide absolutely the name of the island from which the latter was dated. It has been read "Scgothea," and "Bigothea," and "Seguateo," and I know not what else. But I am quite sure that it is *Ciguatco*; and on consulting a series of old maps found in the Cambridge College Library, it appears that this was the name given the island of Eleuthera by the early Spanish and Dutch and English navigators of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ovideo calls it "Ciguatco;" a Spanish map of 1656 calls it "Ciguatao;" a Dutch map of 1659 calls it "Cigateo;" and another gives it the names of "Aleblasters," "Harbour," and "Eleuthera;" and an English map of 1721 calls it "Cigateo, or Alebaster" island.

* *Cal. of C. S. P.*, under date.

It is not unlikely that some of these poor Christians accepted Cromwell's offer, and removed to Jamaica with some of their Bermuda friends; for Dallas tells us, that in 1656 the colony was strengthened "with many industrious settlers from New England and Bermuda."* But it is probable that the great body of the church, worn out with their bitter experience of island-life, gladly accepted the offered chance to return once more to their native land; especially as at that time the Independents were rising into power in England, and there was every prospect of their being allowed to live peaceably in the enjoyment of their faith in the land of their nativity. Their pastor, Mr. White, probably also returned to England and there found, for awhile, congenial employment as the pastor of a church, and suffered with his brethren in the great ejection of nonconformist ministers, in 1660.†

CONGREGATIONALISM AT PROVIDENCE ISLAND.

The island of New Providence, though one of the smaller, is one of the most important of the Bahama or Lucayan group. These islands, great and small, are numbered by the hundred. Though for the most part rocky, and but thinly inhabited at the present time, when first discovered by

* *History of the Maroons*, etc., I, xxxv.

† This is conjecture, but probable; for, according to Calamy, Nathaniel White was ejected from Lavington. No particulars are given. — *Nonconformists' Memorial*, III, 865.

Columbus, in 1492, they were thickly populated by mild, credulous and inoffensive Indians, who were early destroyed by the greedy, remorseless Spaniards; who transported them by thousands to the mines and plantations and fisheries of Hispaniola, where they rapidly perished. In the course of five years from about 1507, not less than forty thousand of these Lucayans were taken to the shambles of Hispaniola!*

Though San Salvador, one of these islands, was the first land seen and visited by Columbus in this new world, none of these islands were ever settled by the Spaniards; and after being depopulated by them, remained uninhabited until the year 1629-30, when a voyage of discovery to New Providence was made, at the expense of the Earl of Warwick and other English noblemen and gentlemen, and a company was formed to colonize the island. Of this company the Earl of Holland was governor, John Dike deputy, John Pym treasurer, and Wil. Jessop secretary. Lord Brooke was a prominent member, as were Lord Say and Seale, Oliver St. John, and other men of kindred spirit, leading Puritans and reformers of Cromwell's time. With such patentees, it is not strange that Providence Island early became a favorite retreat† for English

* *Edward's Hist. W. I.*, iv, 218—; *Raynal's Hist. W. I.*, vi, 354—; *Helps' Spanish Conquest of Am.*, i, 224—.

† *Sainsbury's Calendar of C. S. P.*, 121-3; *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 201; *Anderson's History of Commercial Interests in America*, ii, 449, 361, quarto, 1808.

Puritans and nonconformists. These patentees pushed forward the work of colonizing the island — which we are told “the king and state looked upon as a very considerable place” — with much energy, and expended many thousand pounds on the undertaking. Before the end of 1635, there were about five hundred men and thirty or forty women on the island, which was defended by thirteen fortified places.*

In accordance with the character of the company and of the early emigrants to the island, a corresponding care was manifested for the settlement at Providence of able and pious ministers. Forty pounds sterling a year was allowed them, “with meat and drink, until means are found to raise it to a greater value; or four servants and a corresponding quantity of ground.” On the 7th of November, 1631, the company wrote to the governor and council of Providence, that Lewis Morgan was appointed minister to the whole colony “until we send you more;” † and orders were

* *Cal. of C. S. P.*, p. 217.

They were incorporated as the “Governor and Company of Adventurers for the Plantation of the Islands of New Providence, Henrietta, and the adjacent islands between ten and twenty degrees north latitude, and two hundred and ninety and three hundred and ten degrees of longitude;” and were endowed with full powers of government, and “jurisdiction of life and death.” These islands really lie between twenty-four and twenty-six north latitude, and seventy-six and seventy-eight west longitude. — *Cal. of C. S. P.*, December 4, 1630, p. 123.

† *Cal. of C. S. P.*, November 23, 1630, February 7, 1630–31.

given that he be "lodged and dieted" in the governor's house while he continued a single man. They would have more gladly sent over "a more grave and experienced man," they say, though they commend him as "a very sufficient scholar for his time, and a studious and sober man."

But Morgan utterly disappointed the expectations of his employers; and, manifesting a "seditious and malignant spirit," was suspended from his ministry and ordered home in May, 1632. He however made an apology and "submission" for his improper conduct, was pardoned by the company, and some pecuniary consideration was made him.

This same year, the company sent out three other ministers: Arthur Rous, lecturer; Hope Sherhard, minister of Westminster; and Mr. Ditloff; with the request that they be consulted by the colonial authorities on matters of importance. Indeed, the early acts of the corporation fully justified their profession—"that to obtain good ministers for the island is the chief business of the Company;" and that the spreading of the gospel is "the greatest work, both in itself and in our aim." *

But of these three ministers, Sherhard alone remained on the island any considerable time. Rous died, and Ditloff returned home before May 12, 1634. Sherhard proved himself a good and

* *Calendar C. S. P.*, under date; also July 30, 1634; and May 10, 1632.

efficient minister; and in July, 1634, the company wrote to him, acknowledging his worth and industry, and earnestly desiring him to remain in the plantation; and as an encouragement so to do, raised his salary to fifty pounds, and proposed to send over his "intended wife." *

But Mr. Sherhard was a Puritan, and his efforts to enforce ecclesiastical discipline soon raised up enemies, and involved him in serious trouble with Governor Hunt, who, in 1635-6, fined and imprisoned him. The London Company, however, on learning this, immediately wrote to the governor, that Mr. Sherhard's fine and imprisonment for matters ecclesiastical were utterly disliked; and forbade a minister being disturbed by him in any way, in matters appertaining to his functions.† In the same communication, the governor and council are told that great pains had been taken to provide good ministers for the people, and if such as were desired were not sent, they must blame themselves; "the unhappy discontents that have fallen out betwixt the minister and the government being so public and offensive." As a further proof of their regard for Mr. Sherhard, the company order a suitable house to be built for him, "with a proportion of land."

Though it is not distinctly stated what the

* *Cal. of C. S. P.*, pp. 186-88, July 30, 1634, and p. 196, and February 9, 1634-5, p. 199.

† *Cal. of C. S. P.*, March 28, 1636, pp. 227-9.

trouble was between the government of the island and Mr. Sherhard, it is pretty plain that it arose from the minister's effort to enforce church discipline, and to secure some measure of purity of life among his communicants; he having exercised his right as a minister of the Church of England to suspend some unworthy communicants and to excommunicate others. This naturally enough raised a storm about Sherhard's ears and involved him with the government. But the company signified their general approval of his course by desiring him to "go on in his function according to the rule of the Word;" though they suggested that, in matters of excommunication, he should consult with Captain Hunt, the new governor, whom they commend as "a discreet and godly man." At the same time, they express their hearty sympathy with Sherhard's sufferings for conscience' sake.

In 1638 the minister's salary was again raised ten pounds, to sixty pounds a year; and two servants were sent to him, "with clothes proportional;" and best of all, the company announce that they had engaged Mr. Ward, whose assistance in the ministry it was hoped would be "comfortable to him and the colony." * But Mr. Ward,

* *Cal. of C. S. P.*, pp. 269-271. This "Mr. Ward" was probably the Rev. John Ward, son of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, the first minister of Ipswich, N. E., the "Simple Clobber of Agawam." John was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and was made rector of Hadley in 1633. But being a Puritan, he was soon driven out. In 1639 he came to this country, and in 1645

like several other good ministers with whom negotiations had been opened, failed them at the last moment, and decided to go to New England. The company tell the islanders, under date of July 3, 1638, that they are very sensible of the want of ministers on the island, but that the ministers have been discouraged by the planters not contributing more freely to their maintenance.* Mr. Sherhard, however, received their "thanks for his pains and constancy," with the expression of their deep regret at not being able to send him more helpers in the ministry, and their earnest desire that he would continue his useful labors on the island. As the same time they wrote to the governor, directing him to encourage Mr. Sherhard "by all possible means."

So Sherhard remained; but, becoming more and more dissatisfied with the discipline of the Established Church, and finding probably that all attempts to administer its rites and ordinances faithfully and conscientiously must be unavailing, came at length to the decision to organize a Christian

was ordained pastor of the new church just then organized at Haverhill, Mass. Previously to this, about 1641, Mr. Ward preached for awhile at York, Me. — See *Winthrop's Journal*, 11, 20, compared with 11, 104 and 252. *Mather* gives John Ward a very great character—as "learned, ingenuous and religious; an exact grammarian, an expert physician, and which was the top of all, a thorough divine." — *Magnalia*, vol. 1, bk. iii, ch. xxxi, pp. 470-73. See also Mr. John Ward Dean's exhaustive and valuable life of Nathaniel Ward, particularly pp. 184-93.

* *Calendar of C. S. P.*, April 25, 1638.

congregation or church after the New Testament model, on substantially Congregational principles; just as White and his associates had done at the Bermudas. To this the company made no objections, if they did not actually encourage the movement. And in their proposals to the Rev. Mr. Rogers, about this time, to go out and settle in the island, among other advantages offered him and Mr. Chauncy, "to divert their intended voyage" from New England to Providence," were these: that all freeholders in their colony at New Providence had "a voice in choosing the government and making laws;" and "that they shall name their own ministers, have the ordering of all church affairs," etc.* This was at the time that the Earl of Warwick, Lord Brooke, Mr. Dudley, and other influential English gentlemen had announced their intention to settle at Providence, and when especial efforts were being made to draw New England Puritans towards that island.

The first distinct mention of Sherhard's new church organization is found in the company's despatch to Governor Nat. Butler, dated June 7, 1639. In this they say, that they have used all possible endeavors to take off inconveniences "for

* *Calendar*, pp. 263, 264. Nathaniel Rogers came to Massachusetts in November, 1636, with a number of his old parishioners, and settled at Ipswich. Charles Chauncy came over in 1638. He was pastor in Plymouth Colony for several years, and afterwards President of Harvard College — a man of extensive learning and much ability. — *Winthrop*, 1, 205, 330.

want of administration of the sacraments," arising probably from Sherhard's unwillingness to administer them to any but sober, religious persons. The company, however, pray the colony to rest satisfied with Mr. Sherhard and "to give him and his particular congregation every liberty and favour;" assuring them that "God makes no difference between them that do faithfully and heartily seek Him, though there be in the appearance of men some difference between them in opinion and practice concerning outward things."* At the same time the company express the hope to make the correspondence with New England very beneficial, and entreat the governor to take away all occasion of faction among themselves, and of any breach with the New England churches. This sentence is fully explained by reference to a bit of contemporaneous history.

Some time about 1638-39, the Providence Company, seeing how New England prospered, and rightly attributing it to its popular form of government in Church and State, which was especially attractive to the more substantial and serious people of England; or, as Winthrop expresses it, "finding that godly men were unwilling to come under other governors than such as they should make choice of themselves," etc.—seeing this, the company decided to conform the government of the island somewhat to the New England model.

* *Calendar*, p. 296.

This explains, not only the expressed desire of the Providence Company to cultivate friendly relations with the New England churches, but also their overtures to the Rev. Mr. Rogers and Dr. Chauncy, to divert them from New England to Providence.

And this explains, too, the honorable appointment of Mr. John Humphrey, of Boston, as governor of the island; who, Winthrop says, was "a man of special parts of learning and activity, and a godly man, who had been one of the first beginners in the promotion of this plantation, and had labored very much therein;" who, in fact, was one of the most enterprising, influential and respected of the early settlers of Massachusetts. This appointment was made, and in the most complimentary manner, too, with the confident hope of securing a considerable emigration from New England to Providence Island, through Mr. Humphrey's influence. For the company, on sending his commission, March 31, 1641, express the hope that he would be accompanied from New England "with many good families and persons; that the foundation of a considerable colony may be laid."*

Mr. Humphrey entered into these views of his employers very cordially, and exerted himself to secure a large emigration from the New England churches; as did Lord Say and Lord Brooke also. These efforts occasioned considerable dissatisfaction

* *Calendar of C. S. P.*, p. 320.

and complaint on the part of the New England authorities, as is evident from Winthrop's Journal and Letters, and from Hubbard's History. A ship was nevertheless fitted out, in 1639, from Boston, with passengers and goods for Providence. And in 1640 Humphrey was busy in raising another company for the same destination.* But, unfortunately, the first company on their passage to the island were taken by the Turks, and the second were, providentially, unavoidably delayed until 1641.

In the meantime, the news reached Massachusetts that a small Congregational church had been organized in Providence by Mr. Sherhard, and that its pastor and members were suffering persecution at the hands of the deputy governor of the island;

* *Winthrop*, I, 332-3, also II, 13, 33; *Hubbard*, chap. xlv; *Cal. C. S. P.*, pp. 317-20, A.D., 1640-41. See *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, II, 248-9, and Appendix, viii, where may be found Lord Say and Seal's reply to Winthrop, and his very strong argument for the removal of the New Englanders, almost *en masse*, southward, particularly to the islands. The minutes of the Providence Company in London, June 28, 1641, contain articles of agreement between them and one Emanuel Truebody, for providing two ships, the Sparrow and the Salutation of New England, of one hundred and forty tons apiece, to be employed in transporting "Capt. Humphreys and others willing to accompany him, from New England to Providence and other parts under the government of the Company." — *Cal. of C. S. P.*, p. 320. This shows how large were the anticipations of the Company from Mr. Humphrey's appointment, and how much in earnest they were to secure the New England Congregationalists for planters on their islands.

and at the same time, letters from the church itself were received, desiring the prayers and help of the New England churches.* This intelligence, instead of discouraging the contemplated emigration, stimulated those interested to renewed efforts; and what was still better, it touched the hearts of the churches generally, and "the magistrates particularly," to further those who were already resolved and preparing for that island; for when was an appeal for help ever disregarded by New England! Two small vessels were speedily loaded with all they could carry—some thirty men, five women, and eight children, and their provisions and supplies—and sailed for the island, under command of Captain Pierce, "a godly man and most expert mariner." Touching at St. Christopher, they learned that a large Spanish fleet was in the neighborhood, and fearing that they might be captured, Pierce advised the company to return to New England. But having been already long delayed and much thwarted in their undertaking, the passengers were resolved to go forward. Pierce consented, but with the declaration: "Then am I a dead man." Having reached the island, the captain stood boldly into the harbor and hailed one of the forts. In reply, the vessel received a volley of shot, which riddled her rigging and killed

* A prominent act of persecution towards this little church was the violent seizure of the Rev. Mr. Sherhard, Leverton and others, and sending them prisoners to England, already mentioned. — See *Cal. of C. S. P.*, pp. 317-19.

Mr. Pierce and another man. This rough salutation apprised the ship's company for the first time that the island had been taken by the Spaniards. But though within pistol shot of the fort, the vessels were able to make their way out of the harbor without further loss of life or serious damage, and returned safely to New England, to the great disappointment and mortification of the party, who "would have been set ashore at Cape Grace de Dios, or at Florida or Virginia; but the seamen would not."

These repeated failures of emigrating parties southward were regarded by the Massachusetts authorities as special frowns of Heaven on those enterprises; mainly, it was thought, because the people engaged in them were disposed to decry New England as "a weary land," and to exalt the southern regions as a sort of earthly paradise.*

* The reader will find authority for the text in *Winthrop*, II, 13, 33-4; and in *Hubbard*, *ut sup.*

Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence*, devotes a page and a half to this unfortunate affair, and is not very charitable towards those concerned in it; attributing their movement to a love of novelty and a lack of interest in the gospel, and their heady conceit. He says, "After the novelties of a new land began to be stale with them, and the sweet nourishment of the soul by the presence of Christ in the preaching of the Word began to dry up through the hot-headly conceit of some new-conceived opinion, then they wanted a warmer country; and every northwest wind that blew, they crept into some old chimney corner or other, to discourse of the diversity of climates in the southern parts, but chiefly of a thing very sweet to the palate of the flesh, called liberty," etc. — p. 171.

If Thomas Venner — then a resident of Massachusetts and afterwards the fanatical leader of the Fifth Monarchy sect in England, and who was hanged and quartered for his insurrectionary movements in London, January 19, 1661 — if Venner was a leader in this New Providence emigration party, as Mather asserts,* it is not strange that the magistrates and ministers discountenanced the movement, and considered its failure a mark of divine disapprobation of the spirit in which it was undertaken, if not of the enterprise itself.

The conquest of Providence Island by the Spaniards not only prevented this band of New England emigrants from planting themselves there, but also prevented the energetic and devoted pastor

Hutchinson, Hist. Mass. Bay, takes a much more charitable view of this and other emigrating movements about this time. He says: "It is certain a great part of the colony was under great doubts as to their subsistence. All could not be traders. Much labor was necessary to the clearing of a new country for pasture or tillage. After three or four years' improvement of a piece of ground, they found they had exhausted the goodness of the soil, and were obliged to go upon new improvements. They never used such manure as would keep it in heart. The common practise of manuring with fish left the land in a worse state than it would have been if they had used no manure at all, or than any other manure, even lime, would have left it. This caused many of them to have an unfavorable opinion of the country, and to despair of obtaining a livelihood in it, and great numbers had determined to remove." — Vol. I, pp. 96-7. *Hubbard*, while condemning the emigration movement as a sinful distrust of Providence, remarks repeatedly on the apprehensions and consequent disturbance of the people. — Chap. xlv.

* See *Life of Wilson*, in *Magnalia*, I, 286-7.

of the Congregational church there, Nicholas Leverton, from returning to the island, as has already been related. But Leverton and Sherhard probably saved their lives by this enforced absence from the island at the time of its conquest; for the Spaniards were brutally cruel towards the inhabitants, in retaliation for the alleged cruelties of the islanders towards some Spaniards who had fallen into their hands.

This Spanish invasion altered entirely the subsequent character of the island. It destroyed the little Congregational church which Sherhard and Leverton had organized; it killed or scattered all the Puritan settlers; it stopped the influx of men of like sentiments, which would undoubtedly have been large if the first New England emigration had been successful; for the foreboding anxieties of the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonists, if not absolute discontent, at that time, would have occasioned extensive emigration. Men were then anxiously debating the question whether New England could support the number of inhabitants already within her borders. And as no accessible retreat for them was so promising as New Providence, if this invasion and conquest of the island had not occurred just as it did, there would have been a large Puritan immigration thitherward. And had Leverton been there to give shape and efficiency to the church organization, Providence might have become a strong nonconformist colony, comparing favorably with the best of the New England

settlements. True, the island was ultimately reconquered and repossessed by the English in 1666; but the opportunity had then passed, never to return, to make Providence a second New England.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE ISLAND OF BARBADOES, 1641-1648
— THE PURITANS IN JAMAICA, 1655 — SURINAM — NEVIS, TRIN-
IDAD AND ST. CHRISTOPHER.

A QUAIN little old book, entitled "New England's First Fruits," published in London, 1643, having mentioned some of the great things which God had done for New England, continues: "Towards the end of last summer, foure more plantations, some of which are divers hundred miles, others of them many leagues from our plantation, hearing of the goodnesse of God to his people in our parts, and of the light of the Gospel there, have done even as Jacob did in the famine time, when he heard there was bread in Egypt, he hasted away his sonnes for corn, that they might live and not die; in like manner three severall towns in Virginia, as also Barbadoes, Christopher and Antégo, all of them much about the same time, as if they had known the minds of each other, did send letters and messengers, crying out unto us, as the man of Macedonia to Paul: 'Come and help us!' and that with such earnestnesse, as men hunger-starved and ready to die, cry for bread; so they cry out unto us in the bowels of compassion, for the Lord Jesus' sake, to send them some helpe. They tell us, in some of their letters, that from the

one end of the land to the other, there is none to break the bread of life unto the hungry; and those who should doe it, are so vile that even drunkards and swearers cry 'shame on them.'"*

Johnson, also, in his "Wonder-Working Providence," published in 1654, but written some years previous, refers to this subject several times. For example: in chapter xiii, after speaking "of the charges [£192,000] expended by this poore people [in Massachusetts] to enjoy Christ in the purity of his ordinances, besides that which the adventurers laid out in England," and showing to what good purpose this money was expended, he exclaims: "But what doe wee answering men? The money is all Christ's; and certainly hee will take well that [his people] have so disposed of it to his advantage; by this meanes hee hath had a great income in England of late, prayers, teares and praise, and some reformation. Scotland and Ireland have met with much of the profit of this banke. Virginia, Bermudas, and Barbadoes, have had a taste, and France may suddenly meet with the like." And in subsequent pages, he alludes two or three times to the intercourse and trade between New England and Barbadoes, but says nothing more about the religious intercourse of the two communities.†

* *N. E. First Fruits*, p. 9.

† *Wonder-Working Providence of Zion's Saviour*. By Edward Johnson. 4to, London, 1654, pp. 85, 208.

The island of Barbadoes, the most easterly, and nearly the most southerly of the Caribbee, or Windward Islands, and one of the most fertile and populous of those islands, is about twenty-one miles long by fourteen wide, with an area of about one hundred and sixty-six square miles. It has been known to England since about 1605, when it was visited and taken possession of by the crew of an English vessel, the "Olive Blossom." It was then entirely uninhabited.*

The first English colony of thirty persons was sent out about 1624, well furnished with all necessities for a permanent settlement. In 1627, the Earl of Carlisle received a patent for this and some neighboring islands. His charter provided that laws should be made only "with the consent, assent and approbation of the free inhabitants of the said Province, or the greater part of them, thereunto to be called." † In 1629 Charles

* *Schomburgh*, the latest and best historian of this interesting island, thinks there is satisfactory proof that the Spaniards visited the island a century earlier than this. — *History of Barbadoes*, p. 254. 8vo, pp. xv and 722, Lond. : 1848. *Edwards* (*Hist. W. I.*, 316 —) says this island was probably first discovered by the Portuguese in their voyages to Brazil, and received from them its name. It was found by them a desert island, and was left by them as it was found, except that they supplied it with some swine for the use of any chance visitors of the island. And from this source several vessels were supplied with fresh provisions during the subsequent century.

† *Byron Edwards' Hist. West Indies*, I, 311–23. This is Edwards' account. But there was early a quarrel about this island, and rival claimants appeared as discoverers and first settlers. —

Saltonstall, son of Sir Samuel Saltonstall, sailed for Barbadoes, with nearly two hundred people, supplied with all necessities for establishing a colony there.*

This island seems to have been for some time a favorite resort for English emigrants. In 1636 it had six thousand inhabitants, and in 1650 about twenty thousand "white men," and a very large slave population; while in 1652, after its reduction by the Commonwealth, it could muster—or claimed to be able to muster—ten thousand foot soldiers and two thousand horse. And as early as 1627, there had been built six churches and some chapels on the island; though the ministers complained bitterly of the tyranny of the government.†

It will be remembered that it was to Barbadoes that the celebrated Nicholas Leverton came in 1624, as chaplain to the first colony. But, discouraged by the profligacy of the emigrants, he left them the year following. A better class of men, however, gradually found their way to the island; though the extreme fertility of the soil, and the

See *Calendar of Col. State Papers*, A. D. 1629–30 and 1660, pp. 96, 486–90; also, *Ligon's History of Barbadoes*, pp. 23–24. London: 1673.

* *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 201; *Calendar*, p. 961.

Sir Samuel Saltonstall was son of Sir Richard, Lord Mayor of London in 1597, and Charles was a younger brother of Sir Richard Saltonstall, the first settler of Watertown, Massachusetts.

† *Edwards*, i, 323; *Calendar C. S. P.*, p. 105; *Ib.*, 259.

facilities for getting rich rapidly, gave prominence to men of far other than Puritan tendencies.*

The Church of England was the established religion of Barbadoes, and efforts were made to enforce entire conformity. Still, there were many dissenters on the island, and the efforts of government were quite abortive, either to enforce an observance of church rites, or, it is to be feared, even to secure a moderate regard for the laws of morality by the masses.† The prevalence of nonconformity is distinctly set forth in the preamble of an act relating to public worship, passed during Governor Bell's administration, 1641-1648: "Whereas divers opinionated and self-conceited persons have declared an absolute dislike to the government of the Church of England, as well by their aversion and utter neglect or refusal of the prayers, sermons, and administrations of the sacraments, and other rites and ordinances thereof, used in their several parish churches, as by holding conventicles in private houses and other places; scandalizing ministers, and endeavoring to seduce others to their erroneous opinions, upon a pretence of an

* Barbadoes has a wonderfully rich, productive soil, and, unlike many of the West India Islands, is almost entirely cleared of its forests. Out of some 106,000 acres of land (its entire area) about 100,000 are under cultivation. In 1852 it had 40,000 acres in sugar, and produced 48,785 hogsheads, valued at £739,884 sterling. It was, however, somewhat notorious for ill-treating its slave population. — See *Ligon's Hist. Barbadoes*, 43-50; *Anderson*, 11, 62-66.

† *Anderson*, 11, 55-63; *Ligon*, 96-100.

alteration of church government in England; all which their misdemeanors have begotten many distractions, a great reproach and disparagement of the church to the ministry, and disturbance of the government of this island; for suppression of which their disorderly courses, it is hereby ordered, published and declared," etc., etc.*

It was probably about the time that these acts were passed, that the letters were written by residents on the island to New England, for Congregational ministers, "to break the bread of life unto the hungry." The character of these Barbadoes dissenters is to be inferred from the nature of their application, and the source to which they applied. And that they did not greatly misrepresent the character of some at least of their spiritual guides, or the moral condition of the islands, is pretty apparent from the language of this very legislative act just quoted: "Forasmuch as little care has been observed to be taken by parents or masters of families for the instruction of their children or servants under years of discretion, in the fundamentals of religion, or the knowledge of God; and as little endeavors are used therein by any of the ministers of the island, so that religion comes thereby to be scandalized, and the worship of God contemned, and all manner of vices, through the ignorance of persons attaining maturity of years,

* Hall's Laws of Barbadoes, pp. 4-6, in *Anderson's Hist. Ch'h Eng.*, II, 57-60.

encouraged and countenanced, and for the better information thereof of all sorts of persons concerning God and the true religion—it is ordained and enacted,” etc., etc.

Ligon, an intelligent observer, who resided on this island some two and a half years, between 1647–1650, speaks of the inhabitants as of “several persuasions;” but says that “their discretions ordered everything so well as there never was any fallings out between them.” This he says particularly “of those of the best sort of gentlemen.” *

There was a good deal of intercourse between Barbadoes and New England in early colonial days, and there was much passing of traders and emigrants to and fro. Governor Winthrop, under date of September, 1640, mentions the arrival that summer of “divers godly men as they pretended, from St. Christopher’s [or, as he elsewhere seems to say, Barbadoes] with their families. The occasion was, one Mr. Collins, a young scholar, full of zeal, etc., preaching in the island, it pleased God divers were wrought upon by him; but he and they being persecuted, and their liberty restrained, they came away and brought all their substance in tobacco. . . . They arrived first at Quilipiack [New Haven], and so dispersed themselves here and there, and some returned to Ireland.” †

* *History of Barbadoes*, p. 57.

† *History of N. E.*, II, 8–9.

Collins, *Winthrop* (II, 38) says, “was driven from Barbadoes, where he had preached a time, and done some good;” but coming

In the summer of 1642, two Massachusetts vessels, which had been gone nearly a year and it was feared had been lost, returned home, loaded with cotton, and "brought letters from Barbadoes and other islands in those parts, entreating us to supply them with ministers. But understanding that their people were much infected with familism, etc., the elders did nothing about it, intending to inquire further by another vessel which was preparing for those parts." * The next autumn, September, 1643, the governor of Massachusetts received letters from Philip Bell, Esq., governor of Barbadoes, complaining of the "distracted condition of that island in regard of divers sects of familists sprung up there, and their turbulent practices, which had forced him to proceed against some of them by banishment, and others of mean quality, by whipping; and earnestly desiring us to send them some godly ministers and other good people.† The governor imparted the letter to the Court and elders, but none of our ministers would go thither, and the governor returned answer accordingly." But in 1645, Mr. George Downing, a young graduate of Harvard, "an honest young man, a good scholar, and very hopeful, son of Mr. Emanuel

to Aquiday, he fell in with Mrs. Hutchinson, embraced her views, married her daughter, and suffered with her and her family.

* *Winthrop*, II, 78.

† Bell had been governor of Providence Island, and previously, of the Bermuda Islands which he left in 1629.—See *Anderson*, II, 57.

Downing of Salem," went in a ship to the West Indies, to instruct the seamen. This vessel touched at St. Christopher, Barbadoes and Nevis, in all which places the young chaplain was requested to preach, and "gave such content as he had large offers made to stay with them." He, however, declined them all, and went on to England, where he soon attracted the attention of Cromwell and made himself one of the most notorious, if not distinguished men of the period.*

But notwithstanding the ill opinion entertained by the Massachusetts ministers of the Barbadoes islanders, some time in 1646 Mr. James Parker of Weymouth and Dorchester, a clergyman who had preached at Portsmouth, N. H., for a while, in 1642-43, was induced to go out to Barbadoes; and on the 24th of June, 1646, wrote a long letter to Governor Winthrop—who, it is likely, encouraged his going—in which he gives an account of his safe arrival, and of the island; and bespeaks "helpe at the throne of grace" for him, "in the midst of this great profainess I am amongst, and great heresie." He writes like a homesick man, and one, too, quite appalled by the profaneness of the place and the divisions which existed there. Yet he says he had been treated with great respect by the government and the people of the island, and had found Governor Bell to be "wise, moderate in his way, and temperate; orthodox in his judgment, and

* *Winthrop*, II, 141, 240.

he hoped godly.”* In full view of all the discouragements of his position, Mr. Parker resolved to stay, and send for his family. And as we learn from a letter from Richard Vines to Governor Winthrop, July 19, 1647, Parker was there at that time, pleasantly situated with his family on “a great plantation of twenty acres of land, besides a good stipend and many good gifts; well approved of in his function, opposed by none unlesse by Antinomians and such like.” He, however, was swept off by the plague which ravaged the island in 1648.†

Whether Mr. Parker organized a Congregational church, or had any immediate successor, we do not know; and in fact, we lose sight entirely of Barbadoes as a field of religious interest to the New

* *Farmer*; *Adams' Annals of Portsmouth*, 30; *Savage's Genealogical Dictionary*; *Winthrop*, II, 253, n.; *Hutchinson's Coll.*, p. 155.

† *Hutchinson's Collections*, p. 222. *Savage (Gen. Dict.)* tells us that Parker died while on a visit to Boston, in 1666. But Governor Winthrop, writing to his son John “6(8)48” — October 6, 1648 — says: “Capt. Wall came this day from Barbadoes. Mr. Allen and all or neighbors were safe arrived. . . . The plague is still hott at Barbadoes. Mr. Parker, the min^r, and Mr. Longe, who married Capt. Hawkins' daughter, are dead there.” — *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, by Robert C. Winthrop, II, 384, Boston, 1867. Governor Winthrop's son Samuel was a trader at Barbadoes, as well as at St. Christopher, about 1647. In 1666 he was still at the islands, and had a military command during the wars between the French and English. He is repeatedly referred to by *Du Tertre*, the French Dominican friar, as “Captain Samuel Winthrop.” — *Hist. Antilles*, III, 158, 182, 190. He was made deputy governor of Antigua in 1668. — *Winthrop's Letters*, II, 367-9.

England churches for many years after 1649; Winthrop being our principal source of information up to that time. But, that the interest continued quite down to the close of the century, and that there was a Congregational church then extant on the island, is suggested by an entry in President Wadsworth's journal, to the effect that, in 1698, the West India Islands, having in several instances applied to New England for ministers, "this year, Nathaniel Williams was ordained in the college hall, at Cambridge, August 16, 1698, to take the pastoral charge of a nonconformist church at Barbadoes." How long he continued, we do not know; but according to Eliot the climate proved unhealthy, so he returned to Massachusetts and became the successor of the famous Master Ezekiel Cheever, the old Boston school-master who died in 1708. Williams practised medicine, and occasionally preached, as well as taught school. He died in 1738, aged sixty-three years.*

PROTECTOR CROMWELL AND THE WEST INDIES.

All the attempts at Christian colonization in America by the English, which have thus far been noticed in these pages, were by private parties or incorporated companies. We have now to consider a movement in this direction by the English government itself.

As early as 1653-1655, Oliver Cromwell, the

* *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 469; *Savage's Gen. Dict.*; *Allen's Dict.*

Protector of England, conceived and matured a grand scheme of conquest and colonization in the West Indies, by which the Spaniard and the Pope should be supplanted by Puritan colonists and institutions. His plan was, to conquer and take possession of the larger West India Islands—Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and others—establish on them strong military and Puritan colonies, supported by an efficient naval force, and thus get and keep the entire control of the great Columbian Archipelago.

He argued that the Protestant world had quite too long submitted to the domineering of the Spaniards in the West Indies; who claimed an absolute and exclusive right to all those rich and beautiful islands and the surrounding main-lands, by virtue of the Papal grant to that effect; and who, in maintenance of this spurious claim, made unrelenting, savage war on all who presumed to question their sovereign right to those regions, and ventured into them as settlers; robbing and butchering all Protestants without mercy, and “murdering without cause, many hundred thousand poor, innocent Indians.”

He argued, further, that “an infinite good should arise to the honor of God, by the increasing of the kingdom of Jesus Christ,” by dispossessing the Spaniards of those regions; and, lastly, that the possession and colonization of those islands by English Protestants would enormously increase the trade and revenue of the home country; sufficiently, he

thought, "to discharge all taxes of the subjects of England, and to pay all the navy and forces by sea and land." *

This grand, comprehensive scheme of conquest and colonization, if not actually suggested to Cromwell, was greatly encouraged by the publication of "A New Survey of the West Indies," published by a converted Papist, Thomas Gage, in 1648. Gage had been for many years a Dominican missionary in the West Indies, and knew those regions thoroughly, and what Rome was doing there with the cordial aid of Spain. All this he describes carefully, and shows what the Protestant world must do to counteract the machinations of the Papal church and the Spanish crown.

It was, however, several years after this book was published, before Cromwell could enter upon this great enterprise. But when he could, he pushed it forward with a zeal and energy which proved his deep interest in it and his high anticipations from its success. The numerous official documents which emanated from the Protector, relating to this matter, in Thurloe's State Papers, abundantly prove this. He was, indeed, in such haste to carry out his plans, that nothing was thoroughly done. And the fleet of thirty sail, under

* See Cromwell's proposal to the Dutch government in 1753, to become a partner in this enterprise. — *Thurloe's State Papers*, II, 125; *Anderson*, II, 70-72.

Admiral Penn, carrying four or five thousand men, largely refuse soldiers and inexperienced persons, under General Venables, was hurried off in the winter of 1654-55. The troops were poorly armed, insufficiently provisioned, and utterly unfit for the important work assigned to them. Venables was a good man and a good soldier; but he was a stranger to his officers and men, and was compelled to embark without even mustering or reviewing the forces which he was to command.

The fleet sailed directly for Barbadoes, where it was to meet the storeships. But these had not arrived, and did not for a long time, causing a most unfortunate detention. After enlisting a considerable number of adventurers at Barbadoes, the fleet sailed for St. Christopher, to increase still further its forces. This being done, the expedition finally bore away for Hispaniola, carrying an army — or rather a host — of between five and six thousand men, sufficient in number to conquer the whole West Indies, had they been real soldiers, armed and disciplined, instead of a half-armed, undisciplined rabble of adventurers, more intent on plunder than anything else. But such as they were, the troops were landed at Hispaniola, only to be disgracefully beaten off with serious losses.*

Their next attempt was more successful; for,

* See "General Venables' Defence," in *Interesting Tracts Relating to Jamaica, etc.*: St. Jago De La Vega (Spanish Town, Ja.), 1800.

sailing to Jamaica, an easy conquest was made of the noble island ; and after grievous sufferings and terrible losses, an English colony was firmly established on the island ; so firmly, that no subsequent vicissitudes — though many and grievous and alarming — have ever for an hour loosened the hold of England on this rich and important island.

Though compelled to speak most disparagingly of the rank and file of this West India army as a whole, there were men in the expedition of the highest type of character, both as Christians and soldiers. General Venables, though severely censured by Cromwell for his management of this enterprise, and with Admiral Penn committed to the Tower on his return to England, seems to have been a truly upright and conscientious man, and to have done all that was possible with such a rabble-rout of adventurers, broken-down soldiers, and refuse and criminal scum as composed his army.

Besides Venables, there was another high officer who deserves the warmest commendation for his bravery, general ability, and earnest, self-denying piety. This was Colonel, afterwards Major-General Fortescue. There are extant several letters from this old Puritan, which, while giving an account of the expedition and the island of Jamaica, furnish glimpses of character well worth notice. Fortescue, under date of "Jamaica, July 15, 1655," writes to his "worthy friend, Mr. Taylor, minister of the gospell, at his house, Bell Alley, in Coleman Street, London," a letter full of noble,

religious sentiments, and breathing the very spirit of a Christian hero. After relating briefly the terrible hardships which the army had endured in getting possession of Jamaica, he describes the island as "a very fruitful and pleasant land, a fitt receptacle for honest men, which is our greatest want here. Who knowes whether God hath not sent us before, to make way for the gospell. I hope God will incline and dispose the heart of such as fear God to come and sett downe amongst us. We have encountered and waded through many hardships and difficulties; but alls nothing, soe as we may be instrumentall to propagate the gospell. Were it not in this confidence, I should have sunk in the worke, as others have done; but this consideration bears me up." He calls it the best land he had ever set foot on, and says: "What a desirable and joyfull thinge would it be to see godly men flock and flow hither!"* And again, on the 23d of July, 1655, Fortescue signed a "Declaration of the officers of the army in America" to this effect: "Forasmuch as we conceive the propagation of the gospel was the thing principally aimed at and intended in this expedition, I humbly desire that his highness will please to take order, that some godly, sober, and learned minister may be sent unto us, which may be instrumental in planting and propagating the gospel, and able to confute and stop the mouth of every cavilling

* *Thurloe*, III, 650.

adversary and gainsayer; and, the rather, for that two of the ministers of the army are already dead, and a third lieth at the point of death." *

Had Cromwell succeeded in his grand scheme of conquest and colonization in the West Indies, he would not only have secured that whole region for Protestant England, but have peopled it with the best Puritan and Independent stock in his Protectorate. He understood perfectly that the complete success of this enterprise depended on the character of the permanent settlers on the islands; and he had planned for a very large emigration of sober and religious men from Scotland and Ireland, from Barbadoes, Nevis and St. Christopher, and over and above all, from New England. And it was with special regard to this country, that those distinguished New England Puritans, John Leverett and Daniel Gookin, were made his agents.† But instead of good, sober, substantial, religious persons, Jamaica was overrun and cursed with the refuse and scum of the West India Islands and the worthless and even criminal population of England,

* *Thurloe*, III, 681. *Anderson* (II, 76) does Fortescue full justice, though the General was not a churchman, nor a man exactly after the historian's own heart. This, indeed, I think *Anderson* intended to do with all the various characters which came under his notice, in his admirable history of the colonial church; though he may have failed occasionally, in speaking of the Puritans, and especially the Nonconformists and Independents.

† *Thurloe*, IV, 4, 23, 603.

Scotland and Ireland; and worse than all, with a vast horde of African slaves.*

Cromwell was specially disappointed in his hopes and expectations regarding the emigration from New England. His estimate of our people was very high; but of the country in which they had settled, very low; so low, indeed, that he would have willingly depopulated these colonies, in order to move the inhabitants *en masse* to the West Indies. He argued that "the people of New England had as clear a call to transport themselves from thence to Jamaica, as they had from England to New England, in order to their bettering their actual condition, God having promised His people should be the head and not the tail; and besides, that

* In the course of eighty-six years — between 1700 and 1786 — Jamaica imported upwards of six hundred thousand negro slaves! Yet, such was the awful waste of human life on that island, that in 1833, when the Emancipation Act was passed, there were only about half that number of slaves on the island. The immediate effects of emancipation on Jamaica were disastrous in the extreme. Landed property was made, for the time being, nearly valueless. Hundreds of estates were abandoned by their owners, and poverty and bankruptcy and ruin were on every side. And all this was intensified by an inefficient and corrupt government. The culmination of all was an alarming outbreak and insurrection of the Blacks, in 1865; which was suppressed by acts of savagery which have doomed the administration of Governor Eyre to lasting infamy. But a new order of things — a new governor, Sir John Grant, a man of eminent ability, sound judgment, invincible firmness and stimulating activity, added to great experience in colonial government — has done wonders for Jamaica, and promises its complete regeneration at no distant day.

design hath its tendency to the overthrow of the Man of Sin." *

In the *Calendar of Colonial State Papers*, under date of September, 1655, several orders of the Council of State are noted, which contain instructions to the agents of the Commonwealth, sent to New England and elsewhere to secure emigrants for Jamaica. These agents were directed to offer to the people of New England who should remove to Jamaica in convenient numbers, an ample tract of land on the island, next to some good harbor, which should be appropriated to them and their heirs forever, together with various privileges and immunities; and that vessels be lent them for their transportation to the island. †

But with all that was tempting in these overtures, the influential men of New England clung to their adopted country, with all its disadvantages of soil and climate, as preferable, on the whole, to

* See Mr. Leverett's letter, in *Hutchinson's History*, i, 190-2, and the Court's answer, 192; also, R. Williams' letter on the subject, in the *Winthrop Papers*, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, series iv, vol. vi, p. 29.

† *Sainsbury's Calendar C. S. P.*, 429; *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, i, 236. Cromwell was very anxious to utilize the New England people, by placing them where they could serve his interests more effectually than in this remote country. Thus we find that, as early as 1651, he had a plan for moving them to Ireland, to strengthen the Protestant and Republican power in that conquered land. The letter addressed to him by the General Court of Massachusetts on the occasion gives succinctly the leading objections to any such wholesale emigration as he proposed.—*Hutchinson's Mass.*, i, 190, and Appendix, ix, pp. 520-22.

any more genial climate and richer soil, with their necessary drawbacks. So these colonies remained, to be the northern hive and home of Puritan Congregationalism, while the West India Islands were given up to far different influences.

Had our fathers listened to Cromwell and moved to Jamaica, to better their outward condition, it is not unlikely that the denomination, as such, might have lost its prestige in this hemisphere. Slavery and the thirst for money which dominated in the West Indies might have wrought irretrievable injury, if not utter ruin, to the denomination. But God had better things in store for this branch of his church, and crossed all the fair schemes for promoting a general, or even an extensive northern emigration to the more genial climate and fertile soil of the southern islands. Still, though a general emigration southward was not effected by Cromwell's exertions, yet in 1656 Gookin is reported to have obtained some three hundred substantial New England colonists for Jamaica.* The change of feeling which enabled him to do this was attributed to the fact that a large emigration from Scotland and another from Nevis had been secured. This gave the New England people hope that the island might be colonized by a

* *Thurloe*, III, 249-52; *Long's History of Jamaica*, I, 260-62. Long gives the fullest and best account of this West India expedition, and of the early history of Jamaica. He was, however, no friend of Cromwell or the Puritans; and his account of Winslow is quite unfair and unreliable.

better class of men than at first cursed it with their unwilling presence and their reckless insubordination, laziness and crimes.

Thus, though Cromwell's West India scheme failed of complete success, it was not an absolute failure, nor so great a failure as it is commonly regarded. It made sure to England for all coming time one of the largest and best of the West India Islands, in a central, commanding position. And as for Puritan independency, it was planted on the island by Cromwell's army, and had he lived and reigned for five and twenty years, instead of the dissolute Charles II, as flourishing churches might have been seen there as in any part of the world.

The subsequent history of Jamaica is full of romantic interest, checkered with much that is sad.*

Puritanism, though more prominent on the

* Nothing in history is more interesting and romantic than the story of the Maroons of Jamaica. They were the self-emancipated Spanish slaves found on the island at the time of the English conquest, and their descendants, who were able to maintain their independence for more than a century, against all the forces that England could bring against them. They lived in the "cock-pits" and gorges of the mountains, inaccessible to any but practised feet, and easily defended. They were unerring marksmen, and, hidden among the rocks, no army could enter their fastnesses and not be annihilated by an invisible foe. To aid their operations, they had invented a perfect telegraphic system, which enabled them to communicate to each other by the notes of horns, without moving from their hiding places, whatever information was necessary. Nothing but treachery finally conquered these brave freedmen.

islands which have now been particularly named, was not confined to them. There were Puritans, and probably Congregationalists, in nearly or quite every British West India colony during some part of the period which has now been reviewed. And a careful reader of the history of these islands and neighboring main-lands cannot resist the conviction that there must have been at some time organized churches there too, whose memorials have perished with the good men who founded them.

There were certainly Congregationalists in Surinam, British Guiana. It was there that Leverton, that heroic Congregational minister of whom repeated mention has been made in these pages, spent his last days;* and to this colony came another zealous Congregationalist, the Rev. John Oxenbridge, after his ejection, in 1662. From what we know of the character and course of these good men, we are constrained to infer that they would not have gone to Surinam had there not been there some men of kindred spirit. And if they went, they would not willingly have remained there, either of them, several years without forming a Congregational church.†

At the fertile and beautiful little island of Nevis, one of the Windward group, occupied by the English in 1628, there were Puritans at an early period.

* *Ante*, p. 367.

† See "Considerations Concerning the Settlement of the Maine, called Guinea," in *Calendar C. S. P.*, A. D. 1652, p. 374; *Anderson's Hist. Col. Ch'h*, II, 86.

The Abbé Raynal describes this infant colony as "a model of virtue, order and piety." And Dr. Coke, Superintendent of the English Wesleyan Missions, says of the early settlers of Nevis and its parent, St. Christopher, that they were men "whose characters were well established for industry, probity and virtue . . . a basis which subsequent innovations were never able to destroy." *Du Tertre*, the French contemporary historian of the Antilles, describes Jacob Lake, the governor of this island some time between 1642 and 1652, as "a wise man—one who feared the Lord." * And in 1659 Governor Lake was commended to Richard Cromwell, as "a person of integrity, and very prudent and laborious in the discharge of his trust." And Governor Stokes, who succeeded Lake, is said to have behaved faithfully, and to have been attached to the Commonwealth. †

According to Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence," one of the "first fruits" of Harvard College, was employed as a preacher at Nevis, or "Mevis," as he calls it. ‡

* *Edwards' Hist. West Indies*, i, 418. I make the quotation on Edwards' authority, not having been able to verify it, after a very careful examination of *Du Tertre's Histoire Generale des Antilles*. Paris: 1667.

† *Calendar of C. S. P., sub anno*, p. 474.

‡ Mr. Sibley (*History Cambridge Graduates*) suggests that John Jones was the person referred to by Johnson. But Downing may have been the man. He, we know, visited several of the West India Islands, and preached to the people with so much acceptance that he was urged to remain among them. And he

The Earl of Warwick, in 1642, called Trinidad "my island of Trinidad." This gentleman was not only a very distinguished and influential nobleman, but also a religious man, a Puritan, a friend of Cromwell, and a warm friend of New England. He wrote to Governor Winthrop, in 1634, congratulating him on the prosperity of the Massachusetts plantation, encouraging him and his associates in their arduous work, and offering his help to further their enterprise.* Warwick, in 1643, was made Governor-in-Chief and Lord High Admiral of the American colonies, and early showed his disposition to make good his professions of friendship for New England.†

Entertaining a high regard for the New England people, he was naturally anxious to secure a similar class of men for his own island, and therefore sent a barque to Boston, under command of Captain John Chaddock, in the summer of 1643, with an invitation to the people to become colonists of Trinidad. But the people, grown more cautious

was a graduate of the first class, though a very poor sample of a New England divine. He had eminent abilities, but little integrity. *Hutchinson* (1, 111) says of him: "His character runs low with the best historians in England; it was much lower with his countrymen in New England, and it became a proverbial expression to say of a false man who betrayed his trust, that he was an arrant George Downing."

* *Calendar C. S. P.*, 324; *Winthrop*, 1, 137.

† *Calendar C. S. P.*, 324; *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 273; *Winthrop*, 11, 149, 159.

by the sad experience of those who had lately attempted a settlement in Providence Island, were not forward at that time to try their fortunes in any of the southern islands; so the barque went towards Canada. The Earl was specially directed to New England by Captain John Humphrey, of Massachusetts, just then appointed governor of Providence Island, who told him that planters might be had here.* Captain Chaddock's father had been governor of Bermuda, but left in 1641-2, with his family and a hundred planters, for Trinidad. Most of the company, however, unfortunately died soon after their arrival. The elder Chaddock is represented as a "godly gentleman," and his company, without doubt, contained men of like character — advanced Puritans.

Saint Christopher, commonly called St. Kitts, was probably the first of the West India Islands proper occupied by the English. This was done in January, 1625, by Sir Thomas Warner, a distinguished navigator and colonizationist of that period. Nevis and Barbuda were also first occupied by him in 1628. St. Kitts is one of the more northerly of the Lesser Antilles, or Windward Islands. It is about twenty miles long, and on an average four or five miles wide. The soil is rich and productive, the very best for sugar in all the West Indies. For some time, it was occupied

* *Winthrop*, 11, 129, 149; *Calendar C. S. P.*, p. 323.

jointly by the English and the French, and its early history is marked by more than an average amount—even for a West India Island—of disturbance, contention and fighting. Du Tertre's history of the Antilles abounds in details of these troubles; which finally culminated in 1666, in the expulsion of the English *en masse* from the island. One hundred of these unfortunate refugees came at once to Massachusetts, where they were kindly received and provision was made for the destitute among them.*

After a year or more, the English regained their possessions by treaty, but were again driven out in 1689. They fought their way back the next year, but the French regained their possessions in 1697. In 1713, the island was made over to the English, and has ever since been in their possession. Warner, on his first visit to St. Kitts, was attended by a devoted chaplain, Rev. John Featly. To his faithful labors the island owed much of its early reputation for "probity and virtue;" for though a churchman, his preaching had much of the old Puritan ring in it, and the institutions of religion were early established on the island through his instrumentality.†

But there were also—if not from the very first, certainly from an early date—a considerable

* *Records Mass. Colony*, May 23, and June 3, 1666, vol. iv, pt. ii, p. 307.

† See *Anderson's Col. Hist. Ch'h Eng*, II, 42-50.

number of dissenters on this island, some of whom experienced pretty hard usage. This we learn from Governor Winthrop's Journal, who tells us that in 1640, divers godly men, with their families, arrived at New Haven from St. Christopher's, they being persecuted, and their liberty restrained. The excuse for persecuting these people seems to have been, that they were "much infected with familism;" but their inclination towards Congregationalism no doubt contributed largely to the opposition and persecution which drove them from the island or islands. This, to be sure, is largely a matter of inference. But the inference is legitimate and well-nigh unavoidable. If these converts were not Congregationally inclined, why did they come to New England, and bring all their worldly goods with them, to make a permanent settlement here? And the same may be inferred respecting the hundred refugees from these islands in 1666.

This presumption is strengthened by the statement made by Winthrop, that in 1642 letters were received at Boston "from Barbadoes and other islands in those parts, intreating us to supply them with ministers,"* and by a knowledge of the cordial reception of young Downing, who, while acting as chaplain to a Boston vessel in 1645, touched at St. Christopher, Barbadoes and Nevis, and "being requested to preach in all these

* *Winthrop's Jour.*, 11, 78.

places, gave such content as he had large offers made to stay with them." * All this goes to prove that there must have been, at an early period, on all these English islands, many Puritans and persons ready to affiliate with Congregationalists, if not openly such themselves; and that they were, too, an influential body even on islands where now few or no memorials of them remain. Sainsbury's Calendar of Colonial State Papers abounds in proofs of this; and existing manuscript collections of letters, etc.—like the Winthrop Papers and the Dunster—testify to the same effect. Indeed, it may be said of the oppressed Puritans and Congregationalists of England during the first half of the seventeenth century, as it was of "the church which was at Jerusalem," at the time of the great persecution, after the death of Stephen: "they were all scattered abroad . . . except the apostles, [and] they that were scattered abroad, went everywhere preaching the Word." †

And now, if the question should arise, why so little permanent success attended these early efforts to plant Puritanical and Congregational institutions in the West Indies, the general answer must be, that the soil was utterly uncongenial. It was, indeed, so unsuitable that no form of vital, spiritual, experimental religion could thrive in it, or even exist in any organized form for any

* *Winthrop*, II, 240, 242.† *Acts* VIII: 1-8.

considerable time. The population of these islands was miscellaneous, heterogeneous, and changeable to an extraordinary degree. On some of the islands, as we have seen, there were among the early settlers men of good social position and of exemplary moral and religious characters. But mingled with these men, and greatly outnumbering them, were speculators and adventurers of all kinds, indentured servants, paupers, criminals of various grades—the government using these islands as penal colonial stations—and multitudes who, though unconvicted of crime, were anxious to get as far as possible from well-organized and law-governed communities. These islands were, too, the favorite haunts of buccaneers and pirates, where they disposed of much of their ill-gotten goods, and where they lavished their gold in debauchery, corrupting all around them. And then, added to all this moral malaria, was the terrible incubus of negro slavery, in the presence of which any religious system which recognized the absolute equality of all men before God, as to their religious rights and privileges, has ever found it difficult to live. And last of all, Congregationalism had to encounter the fierce opposition of the Church of England, in the West Indies. It need not, therefore, be a matter of surprise that Congregational churches could not be made to flourish, or even to live long, in communities like those found in the West Indies in early times.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONGREGATIONAL MIGRATIONS BETWEEN 1640 AND 1759—LONG ISLAND AND NEW JERSEY.

FROM the West Indies we turn again to New England, to notice briefly the migratory movements of her restless, enterprising people between 1640 and 1759. During that century and more, the Congregationalists of these colonies sought to establish themselves and their beloved institutions on Long Island, in New Jersey, South Carolina, Georgia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Canada, and Newfoundland.

The first and most important of these movements was towards

LONG ISLAND.

This large, fertile and beautiful island, just off the coast of Connecticut, was early coveted by the New England people. It was not, however, until about 1639-40 that any effectual movement was made towards its settlement by them. At that time, some farmers in Lynn and Ipswich, feeling straightened for room—and farmers of that day who could not count their acres by scores or hundreds were very apt to feel straightened—made a contract for a large tract of land on the north-western side of Long Island, with the agent of

Lord Stirling, who claimed the island by virtue of a patent from Charles I; and in April, 1640, they sent a small company to take possession of the land, build huts and prepare the way for a settlement. These men, however, had barely begun their preparatory work when an armed band of Dutchmen from New York appeared as claimants of this land. The Yankees not being strong enough to defend their purchase, abandoned the ground and removed about one hundred miles off, to the southeastern part of the island, and there began again the work of preparation for the impatient emigrants. Fortunately, their contract with Lord Stirling allowed them to settle in any part of the island, and guaranteed to them "a full and free liberty, both in church order and civil government, as the plantations in Massachusetts enjoyed." Having made their selection, and agreed with the Indians for the soil, they began at once to lay out Southampton, the first New England settlement on Long Island.*

In the meantime the number of "undertakers" in this enterprise had increased from eight to sixteen; a Congregational church had been organized at Lynn of these emigrants, and a "godly learned

* *Prime's (N. S.) History of Long Island*, p. 188. N. Y., 1845.

The Indian deed conveyed to the new settlers eight miles square of land, on consideration of "sixteen coots" on delivery of the deed, and eighty bushels of Indian corn by the last of September, 1641. The date of the deed was December 13, 1640. — *Thompson's History of Long Island*, 1, 324-28, second edition.

man," the Rev. Abraham Pierson, of Boston, had accepted the pastorate, and was prepared to remove with the church to Southampton.*

This plantation was organized, agreeably to the advice of the Massachusetts magistrates, as an independent body politic, and undertook at once the work of self-government, enacting and administering laws and ordinances for the common weal. A court was established, fines and other punishments were inflicted, and juries were impanelled when required; appeals being allowed to the "General Court," or, in other words, to the whole town. In short, the inhabitants of Southampton undertook the entire work of self-government in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, as a complete body politic. And what deserves especial note, they succeeded so well in this delicate and difficult undertaking, that the settlement increased in two years' time to about forty families — say two hundred souls.

* Mr. Pierson remained at Southampton but four years, when he left with a number of church members, because the majority had voted to unite with Hartford Colony, which did not make church membership a prerequisite to citizenship. Mr. Pierson and his friends went first to New Haven Colony and settled at Branford. But when the New Haven and Hartford colonies united, the good man and his church forsook Connecticut and went to Newark, New Jersey, about 1667, and was the minister of the town until his death, in 1678. His successor at Southampton was the Rev. Joseph Fordham, who remained with the people from 1645 or 1646 to the time of his death, in 1674. — *Winthrop*, II, 4-7; *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, I, 149; *Holmes*, I, 338; *Prime*, 189, 192; *Wood's Sketch*, p. 10 and note.

The first church edifice, a small, temporary building, was put up in 1640, very near the site of the present house of worship in the village. In 1651 a larger and better house was built, which served the church for fifty-seven years; when a third meeting-house was erected, in 1707, and furnished with a bell and clock, the first that were introduced into the island. Previously to this, the inhabitants were called to all public meetings probably by the beat of the drum, as was the prevailing early custom of New England. The drummer was appointed by the town and paid a regular stipend for his services.

The same year in which Southampton was settled (1640), and a little in advance of the final settlement of that town, Southold was commenced, in the northeast part of the island, just across the bay from Southampton.* It originally embraced the entire northeastern part of the island, with the adjacent islands towards Connecticut, and was

* *Prime* (131, 187) and *Wood* (13) make Southold the first settled town on Long Island. But as the Lynn people were the first company on the island, preparing for a settlement, I have spoken first of them. Their first contract for the land was dated April 17, 1640, and they were at work on the island as early as May 16, 1640, though compelled to abandon this first location, and remove to the other extremity of the island. But the church reorganized by the Rev. Mr. Youngs at New Haven, preparatory to the settlement of Southold, was not formed until October 21, 1640 (*Trumbull*, 1, 117), and their final settlement appears not to have been made until November, 1641.

about forty miles in extent. These new planters were chiefly from Hingham, England, and came to New England in 1640, with their minister, the Rev. John Youngs. He gathered his church anew at New Haven, on the 21st of October of that year, and removed to Long Island immediately, where he remained until his death in 1672, aged about seventy-four years. He left behind him an enviable reputation for general intelligence, learning and prudence, and for the strictest integrity and sincerest piety. His posterity were numerous, and are yet to be found among the most respectable inhabitants of Long Island.

After Mr. Youngs' death, the church of Southold sent to Boston for "an honest and godly minister," and were fortunate in obtaining the Rev. Joshua Hobart, son of Peter Hobart, of Hingham, a graduate of Harvard College in 1650. In him the church found what they sought. He was installed in 1674, and continued at Southold to the day of his death in 1717, being eighty-eight years old, and having had a pastorate of more than forty-five years.*

The civil and ecclesiastical affairs of Southold at its first settlement were arranged and conducted after the pattern and plan of the New Haven and the New England colonies generally. All the law-making and governing authority was lodged in the hands of the free burgesses or the freeholders

* *Annals of Newton*, in *Felt*, 1, 488; *Prime*, 133; *Allen*.

of the plantation, who were all church members. They constituted the "General Court," and were the ultimate appeal in all disputed cases. A town court was also established, to try civil and criminal cases, as far as possible according to the word of God, while the General Court attended to all the ordinary town business and to the making of laws and ordinances for the common good. Among the earliest enactments of the General Court were laws and regulations to ensure the education of children, the preservation of morals, the maintenance of religious institutions, and the protection of the town from the intrusion of undesirable settlers. No person was allowed to sell land, or let a house even, to any person not approved by the committee appointed to oversee this business. The town was equally prompt to provide against enemies from without; every man being required to furnish himself with arms and ammunition, and to be ever ready to appear for drill or actual service.*

One of the first cares of these Southolders—as it was of the Southampton people, after getting up shelters for their families—was to build a house for God. And this they were both at work upon before the first year of their settlement had closed, though the Southold meeting-house was not completed till 1641. It was a small house, and probably a log house; but it was large enough for the town, and substantial enough to last forty-three

* *Thompson, 1, 374-378.*

years; when a new house was built and the old one was taken for a jail.*

The inhabitants of this plantation being destitute of any complete code of laws, in April, 1644, adopted the following: "Ordered, that the judicial laws of God, as they were delivered by Moses, and as they are a defence to the moral laws, being neither typical nor ceremonial, nor [having] any reference to Canaan—shall be accounted moral equity, and generally binde all offenders, and be a rule to all the courts in this jurisdiction in their proceedings against offenders, till they be branched out into particulars hereafter."

The church at Southold maintained its original Congregational polity for nearly two hundred years; but about 1830–32 it yielded to outside pressure and united with Presbytery.

The town of Hempstead was settled by the Rev. Richard Denton and a portion of the people to whom he had been ministering at Stamford, Connecticut, several of whom were men of considerable distinction.† A purchase of land was made

* *Prime*, 132; *Thompson*, 1, 394.

† Mr. Denton received his B. A. from St. Catherine's College, England, 1623; and was a minister at Halifax, in Yorkshire. He immigrated to Massachusetts some time between 1630 and 1635; joined the Watertown people, and with them removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut, in the summer of 1635. After preaching to them probably five or six years, he removed with a portion of his congregation, some thirty or forty families, to Stamford, where he remained until 1644; when he and his people emigrated

of the natives in 1643, and a patent was obtained of the Dutch governor, November, 1644. This patent gave these planters full power to build a town or towns, and to use and exercise the reformed religion which they professed, with the discipline thereunto belonging; to erect a body politic, or civil combination among themselves, and to nominate certain magistrates, with full power to call a court, or courts, as often as they should see expedient, and to try cases, civil and criminal. Under this patent the first settlement was made; and though the moral restraints imposed upon the planters were very strict, the settlement increased rapidly, so that in three years' time there were no less than sixty-six male landholders in the town.

One of the early ordinances of their General Court forcibly illustrates the character of the first settlers of this place. This order of court, made in 1650, required every person in the town to attend "public worship on the Lord's day and public days of fasting and thanksgiving, both forenoon and afternoon"—except for good and sufficient reasons—under the penalty of five guilders (about two dollars) for the first offence, ten for the second, twenty for the third, and the liability to corporal punishment or banishment for subsequent offences.

to Long Island and founded the town of Hempstead. Here he lived until 1659, when he returned to England, and there died in 1662 or 1663, aged seventy-six years.—*Woods' L. I.*, 22; *Prime*, 279-81; *Felt*, 1, 515; *Allen's Biog. Dic.*; *Farmer* says he died in Hempstead in 1663; *Thompson*, 11, 1-37.

Before the close of the century the church had declined in numbers and strength so much that it was difficult for them to support the ministry; and after the retirement of the Rev. Jeremiah Hobart, in 1696—many of the people having become Quakers, and others willingly doing nothing for its support—the church was several years without a minister. At this juncture, the Society for the Propagation of Religion in Foreign Parts, with the assistance of the notorious Lord Cornbury, governor of New York, got possession of the meeting-house, parsonage and glebe, and set up Episcopal worship in this old Congregational meeting-house, to the great disgust of those who remained true to the faith and order of their forefathers.

In 1762 the old church rallied, built a new house, and maintained Congregational preaching until about 1776, when its place of worship was seized by the British army on Long Island for military uses. At the close of the war the church rallied a second time, repaired the meeting-house, and for several years enjoyed preaching a part of the time. But as early as 1805 it had united with Presbytery and a minister was installed by the Long Island Presbytery, the number of church members being only ten. From that time, it increased in strength until 1845, when it numbered two hundred and twenty communicants.*

* *Prime*, 288; *Thompson*, *ut sup.*

In 1647, or a little earlier, a settlement appears to have been made, and a Congregational church formed, on a narrow peninsula about five miles long by one mile wide, adjoining Southold, probably by planters from that town. It was called by the Indians Poquatuck; by the English, Oyster Ponds, and afterwards, Orient. This peninsula is nearly level and comprises some of the most productive soil on Long Island. Very little is known about its first settlement, there remaining no records to tell the exact time when the church was formed. Peter Hallock, of Southold, appears to have been the first purchaser of the land from the Indians, and to have admitted as joint purchasers Messrs. Youngs, Tuthill and Brown, probably all fellow townsmen. The church was Congregational in its order, and remained such till 1830; perhaps longer.*

The settlement of East Hampton was made in 1648 or 1649, by eight or nine families from Lynn, and some from other towns in Massachusetts. The place was first called Maidstone, after the English town from which the settlers originally came to New England. A Congregational church was organized here in 1650 or 1651, and the Rev. Thomas James, son of the Rev. Thomas James, of Charlestown, was called to the pastorate. He

* *Manuscript Letter* to the author from Rev. C. Youngs, of Long Island; *Prime*, 136 —

remained with it to the time of his death in 1696. The church continued on its original platform nearly one hundred years; when it succumbed to the influences around and within it, and united with the Presbytery in 1747.

At an early date the settlers of East Hampton entered into a sort of plantation covenant, embracing civil and ecclesiastical matters, as did other Puritan towns on this island and elsewhere. And as these covenants most clearly exhibit the peculiar characteristics of our Congregational ancestors, they should be preserved. The East Hampton covenant read as follows: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Almighty God, by the wise dispensation of His providence, so to order and dispose of things that we, the inhabitants of East Hampton, are now dwelling together; the word of God requires that, to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent government established, according to God, to order and dispose as occasion shall require: We do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves and successors, to be one town or corporation; and do for ourselves and our successors, and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together, to maintain and preserve the purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we now possess; as also the discipline of the church, which according to the truth of said gospel is now practised among us. As also in our civil affairs, to be guided and

governed by such laws and orders as shall be made, according to God, and which, by the vote of the major part, shall be in force among us. Furthermore, we do engage ourselves, that in all votes for choosing officers or making orders, that it be according to conscience and our best light. And also, we do engage ourselves by this combination, to stand to, and to maintain the authority of the several officers of the town in their determinations and actions, according to their orders and laws, that either are or shall be made; not swerving therefrom. In witness whereof each accepted inhabitant set to our hand." *

This town has a history somewhat remarkable. For nearly two hundred years after its settlement there was but one church and one place of worship in the town. During a period of a hundred and sixty years or more, it was never but once without a sound and faithful Congregational or Presbyterian minister. Three of them lived and died and were buried with their people. The pastorate of Mr. James, the first minister, continued

* *Prime*, 170-81. The covenant is copied from *An Address* by Henry P. Hedges, delivered Dec. 26, 1849, at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of East Hampton. This covenant was made October 24, 1654, and is a copy of "the Connecticut Combination," with the addition of the paragraph beginning "Furthermore," and ending "therefrom." Mr. Hedges' pamphlet — *Address and Appendix* — is full of interesting details illustrative of the early history of East Hampton. Published at the "Corrector Office," Sag Harbor, L. I., 1856: octavo, 100 pages.

about forty-six years; that of the second, Nathaniel Hunting, fifty years; of the third, Samuel Buell, nearly fifty-two years, he dying at the advanced age of eighty-two, in 1798. Lyman Beecher was the fourth pastor, and resigning for want of a sufficient support, after a pastorate of less than eleven years, broke the old order of things in the church and town; and during the succeeding forty-five years, the church had no less than four ministers.

During the early history of this town it was visited by repeated revivals of religion. Dr. Buell, in his half century sermon, preached in 1792, speaks of five such seasons with which he had been conversant, and which added to the church large numbers—more than a hundred at a time. And the same state of things seems to have prevailed in other Puritan settlements on the island.*

The first permanent settlement of Oyster Bay after several abortive attempts—one by the Lynn people in 1640, another in 1642—was effected in 1653, by the Rev. William Leveridge or Leverich and nine others, principally from Sandwich, Plymouth Colony; though it is probable that individual settlers had been located within the bounds of this town for some years previous. Mr. Leveridge first landed at Salem in 1633, went thence to

* *Sermon* delivered at East Hampton, January 1, 1792, by Samuel Buell, D.D., pastor of the church there; being the fiftieth anniversary of his installation, pp. 43-46.

Dover, was a member of the Boston church in 1635, afterwards preached at Duxbury, and from thence went to Plymouth and preached a while; but in 1638 removed to Sandwich, where he was the teacher of the church until about 1653. He embraced Mr. Chauncy's notions about the administration of the Lord's Supper in the afternoon of every Lord's Day; which, being contrary to the prevailing judgment of the churches, may have made him willing to push out with his personal friends into a new settlement. He seems, however, to have been naturally an active, enterprising, possibly restless man, better fitted for missionary service than for quiet pastoral duties; though withal a very excellent man and a faithful and an able preacher.

We know but little of the early history of this settlement. William Leveridge, Peter Wright and Samuel Way were the first purchasers of the township from the Indians, paying for it six Indian coats, six kettles, six fathom of wampum, six hoes, six hatchets, three pairs of stockings, thirty awl-blades or twenty knives, three shirts, and as much peague [toll] as would amount to four pounds sterling.

They doubtless had a municipal government from the first, which it is not unlikely was based on a sort of plantation covenant, like that adopted by the settlers of East Hampton; and this may have answered for some time, instead of a church organization. Mr. Leveridge and his Sandwich

friends were Congregationalists, and could not have neglected the ordinances of Christian worship. He was, however, never formally installed at Newton, but labored among the Indians of the island, as he had previously at Sandwich, preached at Huntingdon—which was settled about the same time as Southampton, and perhaps by the same company—and was the minister of that people from an early date to 1670, when he removed to Newton, where he remained to the time of his death.

Captain John Underhill, notorious in the early history of Maine and Massachusetts for sundry disorderly doings, as well as celebrated for his bravery and prowess in fighting the Indians, was among the early settlers of Oyster Bay. He died probably about 1672, leaving a posterity who became Quakers. His character and influence—for he was a man of great power and influence—may have had something to do in giving this infant settlement a less decidedly Puritanical character than what marked the other early settlements on Long Island.*

Newton (Wadownock) was first occupied by the Rev. Francis Doughty or Dotey, of Taunton, and his family and friends, as early as March 28, 1642. They commenced the plantation under a

* *Wood*, 37–38, 64, note †; *Prime*, 264; *Winthrop*, II, 13–16, and note 1; *Felt*, I, 502; *Thompson*, I, 484–90.

sort of charter or permit from the Dutch governor of New York. In 1643, however, the settlement was attacked by the Indians; possibly because the settlers had neglected to purchase their consent to the occupancy of the land; as was almost uniformly done by the Puritan settlers, though not, we believe, recognized as necessary by the Dutch authorities. Some of the planters were killed, others escaped across the river to New York, and the settlement was broken up. After a while, Mr. Doughty, with others probably, returned to Newton. Yet after a few months he removed again to New York, and there remained some years; though he did not relinquish his claim to the territory of Newton, and demanded rent from the occupants of the soil. His claim not being allowed, he engaged in a lawsuit to get his dues; but was beaten, and finally got into trouble with the Dutch governor, and was fined and imprisoned for his persistency. On or before 1647, Doughty returned to the island for a short time, and became the first minister of Flushing. But in 1648-9 he went to Virginia.*

* *Annals of Newton, L. I.*, in *Felt*, 1, 458. Neither Thompson, Prime, nor Wood, notices this attempt at early settlement. Thompson mentions Doughty's arrival on Long Island in 1644, and his connection with Flushing as its first minister; but says, "he was probably a Baptist, but afterwards turned Quaker" (vol. II, 70); in both of which suppositions he is probably mistaken.

Doughty's name is spelled in the old records in rather a greater variety of ways than is common, though few early proper names

It is not unlikely that there were some planters at Newton, all along after Mr. Doughty's return, to the time of a larger immigration in 1651-1655, under a patent from the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, who did not recognize Doughty's claim to the territory after having once abandoned it. Under this new immigration the settlement prospered, and in 1655-56 contained no less than eighty-two men, mostly freeholders.*

The town seems to have been organized and governed, substantially, as were the other Puritan towns on the island—as a pure democracy, the whole governing and law-making power, ecclesiastical as well as civil, being in the hands of the

had any uniformity of orthography. Besides Doughty, we find Dowty, Doatey, Doaty, Doty, Doubtyes, and Dottle. There was an Edward Doty among the passengers in the Mayflower, 1620. Among the first purchasers of Taunton, Mass., 1637, which was incorporated in 1639, is found the name of Francis Doaty (Doughty or Doty). And it is said that he was a minister, and it is thought that he may have been, with several others, in the place before it was purchased and formally settled by Elizabeth Pool and her company, and may have officiated as their minister. *Lechford*, in 1641-42, represents him as one who opposed the organization of the church there, "alleging that according to the covenant of Abraham, all men's children that were of baptized parents, and so Abraham's children, ought to be baptized; and spoke so in public, or to that effect; which was held a disturbance, and the ministers [called together to organize a church] spake to the magistrates to order him; the magistrates commanded the constable, who dragged Master Doughty out of the assembly. He was forced to go from thence with his wife and children."—*Plain Dealing; Baylies' Mem. of Plym. Colony*, Part 1, 289-91; 11, 278, 282.

* *Thompson*, 11, 138.

freeholders, who in town-meeting (General Court) made laws, adopted regulations, appointed magistrates and performed all the functions of general government. These colonists probably brought with them a minister; certainly the Rev. John Moore was employed by them from 1651 to the time of his death, June 17, 1661.* After Mr. Moore's decease, the people applied to the Governor and Council of New Amsterdam for another minister, "fearing that some of the inhabitants might be led away by the intrusion of Quakers and other heretics," if left destitute of orthodox preaching. And it is not unlikely that they were supplied, agreeably to their request. In 1670 the town was fortunate enough to secure the services of the Rev. William Leveridge, who was their first settled minister, and who remained with them till his death in 1692, being then ninety-two years old.

The church at Newton was Congregational in its organization, and remained such until about 1724, when it united with the Presbytery.† It is to the honor of this church that no less than five of its six pastors remained in office until death;

* *Thompson, ut sup.*

† *Prime, 305.* This change was brought about gradually, by the management of the pastor, Rev. Samuel Pomeroy — "Pumry" as he is called in the church records — who united with the Presbytery of Philadelphia, in 1715, and succeeded in 1724 in inducing the church to elect ruling elders and to submit to Presbyterian rule.

and their remains and monuments are still found among the people of their charge.

Brookhaven, the largest township on Long Island, containing originally more than two hundred thousand square acres, was first settled in 1655, by more than fifty-five adult men, chiefly from Boston and the vicinity. Many of these planters were men of superior character and attainments, as were in fact very many other of the first settlers of Long Island. And the town has a history corresponding to the character of its first inhabitants. The lands were purchased of the Indians, and conveyed over and over again by them; and in 1666 a patent of confirmation was obtained, after the conquest of New Amsterdam, from Col. Richard Nicoll, the first English governor of that Province. This town, like the other English towns, early placed itself under the government and protection of Connecticut, though it had a civil organization of its own. When the church was organized is not known.

A lot of land was early set apart for a meeting-house, and also a handsome lot for the use of the minister. What was called "a town house" was first erected on "the meeting-house green," and made to answer for awhile the double purpose of a meeting-house and a town-house. In this, religious services were held from the first, under the direction of Samuel Eburne, an intelligent Christian layman. In 1671-72, a small meeting-house

was built, twenty-eight feet square, which served the church for about forty years. The first settled minister of Brookhaven was the Rev. Nathaniel Brewster, a descendant of Elder William Brewster of Plymouth, and a graduate of Harvard College in 1642, in the first class. He went to England soon after his graduation, was settled in the ministry at Norwich, and received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity from Dublin University. After the general ejection of the Puritan clergy in 1662, Mr. Brewster returned to this country, and in 1665 was settled at Brookhaven, where he lived until he was seventy years old, dying December 18, 1690.* Very little is known of him, except that "he was said to be a good scholar and an able divine." If he was a grandson † or a

* *Thompson, Hist. L. I.*, i, 417-21; *Prime*, 223; *Wood*, 38; *Hutchinson*, i, 112, and Appendix vi; *Felt*, i, 498; *Thompson* (i, 420) has preserved a curious old town document which shows that the people of Brookhaven were seated, the men and women apart, and according to the amount of their subscriptions towards the support of the minister. All freeholders who paid forty shillings a year were seated "at the table," but no "women-kind" excepting "Col. Smith's Lady;" and, also, all the justices, whether they paid forty shillings or not. In pew No. 1, all who paid twenty shillings were seated; in No. 2, those who paid fifteen shillings; and so down to No. 6, where those who paid but nine shillings a year were seated. No. 7 was appropriated to the "young men," and No. 8 to "the boys." Then pews No. 9-12 were set apart for the wives of the men, according to the amount of their subscriptions; and other pews and places were assigned to "maids" and "girls," while one pew, No. 15, was kept "free."

† *Thompson* and *Prime* both say that Brewster was a grandson of Elder Brewster and son of Jonathan. But *Wood* says, that

nephew of Elder William Brewster, he came of as good stock as even New England could boast.

A township just west of Hempstead, first known as Canovasset, then as Rusdorp, and finally as Jamaica, was settled in 1656-57, chiefly from the adjoining town of Hempstead. A permit or charter was first obtained from the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, Peter Stuyvesant, March 21, 1656, and the land was bought of the Canause Indians. The actual number of men concerned in the original purchase, "Nov. y^e 25th 1656, style *novo*," was twenty. But in the course of four years there were no less than sixty landholders in the town. The early legislation and the general conduct of town affairs was substantially the same as that which characterized the other English towns on the island. Early provision was made for the support and comfort of a minister; and as early as April 11, 1662, the town voted "to build a house for the minister, off twenty-six foot by seventeen, and to bee ten foot high in the stood betwixt joint and joint;" to be thoroughly built and furnished, "and to be done by y^e middle of August next." This house was given to the first minister of the town, his heirs and assigns, on certain conditions. The same year, Mr. Zachariah

according to the tradition of the family, he was a *nephew* of Elder Brewster, and was born and educated in England, and by the advice of his uncle went to Long Island.

Walker, of Boston, became the minister of the town, and remained until 1668, when he moved to Stratford, Connecticut, and thence to Woodbury, where he died in 1699-1700, aged sixty-two years. He was educated at Harvard College, though he did not graduate, and is represented to have been an able and excellent minister. His salary was sixty pounds, payable in wheat and Indian corn at current prices. "At a town meeting, August 30, 1663, it was voted and agreed by the town, that a meeting-house shall bee built twenty-six foot square." The town also voted Abraham Smith thirty shillings a year "for beating the drum on Sunday, and other meeting days;" to be paid in tobacco or wheat, at six shillings eight pence, or Indian corn at four shillings a bushel. For some reason, Mr. Walker declined ordination; and this may have been the cause of his early removal from Jamaica; for in March, 1666, the town proposed to make an addition of five pounds yearly to Mr. Walker's salary, "provided he should continue with them from year to year, and should likewise procure ordination, answerable to the law; thereby to capacitate him not only for the preaching of the word, but for the baptizing of infants." * Mr. Walker seems to have declined this offer, and soon after left the town. Directly after his removal, the town adopted measures to secure another minister; and finally obtained the Rev. John Prudden,

* *Thompson*, 11, 96; *Prime*, 307; *Allen's Biog. Dic.*

son of the Rev. Peter Prudden of Milford, Connecticut, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1668. He removed to Jamaica in 1670 and remained until 1692, when he accepted a pressing invitation from the church in Newark, New Jersey, to become the successor of the Rev. Abraham Pierson. There he died, December 11, 1725, aged eighty years, leaving behind him the reputation of a sensible, good man, though not a popular preacher. He, like his immediate predecessor in Jamaica, was not installed over the church, but was employed from year to year.

The church at Jamaica was Congregational in its organization, and remained so until about 1712. At that date the Rev. George McNish, a native of Scotland or Ireland, was called to its pastorate. He had been settled in Maryland, and was one of the first members of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and proved to be one of their most effective agents in building up Presbyterianism in America. Through his influence the Jamaica church became Presbyterian, and his advent to Long Island marks the date of the general introduction of Presbyterianism into the island, in place of the Congregationalism which had planted all the early churches there.*

LONG ISLAND CONG'L CONVENTION, 1791.

A very significant chapter of Congregational church history is furnished by the history of

* *Prime*, 303.

the "Strict Congregational Convention of Long Island."

Previous to the year 1783 there existed in Connecticut an association of churches and ministers who had seceded from the established churches there, on account of their disregard of some of the primitive principles and doctrines of Congregationalism relating to the rights and liberties of individual churches, and their open adoption of the Half Way Covenant. This body was known as "The Strict Congregational Convention of Connecticut."

In June (17th), 1783, this convention ordained the Rev. Daniel Youngs pastor of the "First Strict Congregational Church of Southold," afterwards called Riverhead, which had been organized some five and twenty years, having been formed by the Rev. Elisha Payne, March 26, 1758. Mr. Youngs organized a Second Strict Congregational Church at Riverhead, in 1785, and the Convention ordained the Rev. Jacob Corwin as pastor of this church in November, 1787. In October, 1788, the Rev. Noah Hallock was ordained as an evangelist on Long Island, by the same Convention; and in September, 1790, the Rev. Paul Cuffee, a native Indian of the Shunnecock tribe, was ordained pastor of the Congregational churches at Canoe Place and Poosepetank, composed of native Indians and people of color.

For several years these churches and their pastors maintained their connection with the Strict

Congregational Convention of Connecticut. But in 1791, August 26, after much prayer and consideration, it was decided to form a convention for the Long Island Strict Congregational churches and ministers, separate from the Connecticut body, though like it; which was accordingly done. And this was a bond of union and a most important helper of these churches for at least forty-seven years. Numerous revivals blessed these churches, and large additions were made to them from time to time. At Riverhead, for example, there were no less than seven general revivals of religion, besides some of less note, during the ministry of the Rev. Daniel Youngs; and nearly two hundred persons were added to the First Strict Congregational church there. In 1839 there were nine churches and five ministers connected with this body, and an aggregate of one thousand church members.*

In most of the Puritan settlements on Long Island, if not in all of them, parsonages, with glebe lands attached, for the minister were provided, in addition to the yearly stipends voted by the towns

* *A Brief History of the Strict Congregational Convention of Long Island*, from its organization, in 1791, to the present time, 1839, 16mo, thirty-six pages.

I am indebted to this little pamphlet history for most of the statements in the text. Besides these details, the pamphlet furnishes brief sketches of the ministers connected with the Convention, and gives interesting details respecting several churches.

in General Court assembled. And these stipends varied, according to the size of the settlement and the ability and generosity of the planters, from sixty to one hundred pounds — Southampton giving the largest salary. These salaries seem at first to have been paid in produce and articles of consumption, at current prices.

As lately as 1840 there remained fifteen Congregational churches in Suffolk County, Long Island, all but two of which owned meeting-houses. Seven of these churches were then supplied with Congregational ministers, and four with Presbyterians. The most flourishing of them, at that date, was at Upper Aquebogue, which contained two hundred and twenty-five members; though between 1814 and 1830 it had sent out four colonies, which had been organized into churches and had built for themselves meeting-houses. There was, at the latter date, a flourishing church at Patchogue, containing two hundred and twenty-four members, another at Wading River, of one hundred and forty members, and still another at Old Man's, of one hundred and thirty-five members.*

From this sketch of Long Island it appears that the earliest English settlements there were made by New England Congregationalists, who modelled all their institutions, civil and religious, after

* *Manuscript Letter of the Rev. John Gibbs, of Long Island.*

the pattern furnished by the Pilgrim and Puritan colonies; that Congregational churches were organized in all these settlements, for a long period maintained the faith and order of the fathers, and contributed largely to make this beautiful island as the very garden of the Lord; fully justifying the high encomiums passed on them generally by one of their aged and most respected ministers, some thirty years ago—as sound in doctrine, faithful in discipline, and having among them the excellent of the earth.* It is true, most of the oldest churches on the island have gradually been absorbed by Presbytery, but new churches of the Congregational order have risen in place of the lost ones; and though the number of our churches on the island is less than it was a few years ago, yet the number of avowed Congregationalists in 1878 was vastly larger than it ever was before; the present number of Congregational churches on Long Island being twenty-six,† and the number

* Rev. John Gibbs, living at an advanced age in 1874. To this aged and excellent brother, and to the Rev. C. Youngs, pastor of the Congregational church at Wading River, in 1840, I am much indebted for valuable information about Long Island, communicated in manuscript letters.

† For the statistics of these churches, see *Congregational Quarterly*, January, 1873, compared with *Year Book*, January, 1879; *Minutes Gen. Ass.*, New York, 1872, pp. 47, 60, 61. In 1873, eight small churches of our order were reported on Long Island which are not on our list in 1879. But the total of their communicants was only one hundred and eighty-six, giving an average of twenty-three and a fraction to each.

of church members reported, eight thousand seven hundred and forty-eight.

NEW JERSEY.

What is now New Jersey was once a part of New Netherlands, and was included in the extensive grant made by Charles II, March 12, 1633-4, to the Duke of York and Albany, of "all the land from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay." So much of this land as is embraced in the State of New Jersey was made over by the royal duke, on the 24th of June following, to Lord John Berkley and Sir George Carteret, friends and courtiers of King Charles II.

But of all these four or five hundred miles of territory, not a rod belonged to the king to grant nor to his brother to transfer. It was claimed and occupied, so far as it had White occupants, by the Dutch and the Swedes. Therefore, before this grant could be of any value to the royal brother or to his noble friends, Charles had to get possession of it. To this end, in the spring of 1664 he dispatched four frigates and a small army to New Netherlands, to seize the country which he had previously given away. The Dutch were unprepared for this assault, and in the course of the summer and autumn of 1664 the English were in possession of the entire country from Delaware bay to Albany, without having fired a gun.

The commander of the expedition, Colonel Richard Nichols, was made governor and immediately

took possession of the territory, which he named New York, while its largest settlement he called Albany, both in honor of the duke of York and Albany.*

Berkley and Carteret lost no time in taking possession of their purchase, which they named New Jersey, in honor of the Carterets, who originated in the island of Jersey. Philip Carteret, brother of Sir George, was made governor; and in the month of August, 1665, arrived, with a company of some thirty gentlemen and servants, and established himself at Elizabeth, a poor plantation of three or four families.

Having taken possession of his Province, the next care of the governor was to people it. And like a wise man, his attention turned first of all towards New England, that overflowing home of good men, alike enterprising, energetic and courageous. Accordingly, messengers were despatched thither, with "The Concession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Cæsarea or New Jersey, to and with all and every

* A company of Swedes landed at Cape Henlopen in 1627, purchased of the natives a tract of country extending from the Cape to the Falls of the Delaware, and gradually extended their settlements up both sides of the river. But in 1655 they surrendered their possessions to the Dutch; who thus became the proprietors of the whole country from the Connecticut river to Maryland, which they named *Nova Belgia* — New Netherlands. — *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, 1, 277 — and 377-81; *Douglass' Summary of the British Settlements in North America*, 11, sec. xiii, and pp. 220 —, also, sec. xii; *Holmes' Annals*, 1, 192, 333-35, 337-40.

the Adventurers, and all such as shall settle or plant there." These promised the largest liberty of conscience to all settlers, and gave assurance that they should never be disturbed or disquieted in their religious concerns, by any law, usage, or custom in the realm of England: A representative government was also promised; and liberal offers of land were made to all planters, proportionate to the number that should come to the Province. These enticing offers, joined with a knowledge that the climate and soil of New Jersey were every way inviting, met with a cordial reception and a ready response from many good but uneasy souls in New England, particularly in Connecticut, where the enforced union of the Hartford and New Haven colonies, in 1665, had occasioned much disquietude and dissatisfaction among the New Haven colonists, many of whom, rather than submit to this offensive arrangement, preferred to leave their pleasant homes in New England and encounter again the hardships of another settlement in a remote wilderness, which promised them the opportunity to establish and maintain the institutions of religion in their primitive New England simplicity and purity.*

Prior however to all this — as early as December 2, 1664 — Governor Nichols had issued a patent to some men from Jamaica, Long Island, of

* *Historical Discourses relating to the First Pres. Church in New-ark.* By Jona. F. Stearns, D.D. Discourse No. 1; 8vo, 320 pp.

a large tract of land in northern New Jersey, just opposite New York bay, and they had bought the soil of the Indians of Staten Island, who claimed to be its rightful owners, and begun a settlement. This was afterwards known as the "Elizabethtown Grant," and became the headquarters of Long Island and New England immigrants to a large extent.*

There can be very little doubt indeed that these Congregationalists carried with them New England institutions, civil, educational and ecclesiastical. But whether they were able to organize a Congregational church at once is doubtful; for, immediately after the first purchasers of this grant had begun a settlement, Governor Carteret appeared among them, bought out one of them, and settled with his associates on this spot, making it the capital of the Province.

These new-comers, whatever else they may have been, were not Congregationalists, and probably rather hindered than helped the work of building up immediately New England institutions in the settlement. But, though we have no reliable evidence that a Congregational church was organized

* *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 335. The names of the Jamaica purchasers were : John Bailey, Daniel Denton, Luke Watson, and John Ogden. These are all New England names, and two of them the surnames of New England ministers. It is probable that these men and their families were those found at Elizabethtown, by Governor Carteret, in August, 1665. — *Stearns' Historical Discourses*, pp. 23-24.

at once in Elizabethtown, yet we may be very sure that there was no unnecessary delay. We have evidence that there were Congregational ministers there and in the neighborhood at quite an early date. The Rev. John Smith, of Barnstable, Plymouth Colony, was preaching in New Jersey prior to 1675; and the Rev. Seth Fletcher, of Biddeford, Me., who died at Elizabethtown in 1682, is known to have been preaching there during the previous year, and we know not how much longer.*

But however it may have been with the settlers on the Elizabeth grant, we are left in no doubt respecting a neighboring plantation of Connecticut people in New Jersey.

In the spring of 1666, some thirty families, "from Milford and other neighboring plantations thereabouts," in New Haven Colony, influenced by their dislike and fear of the union of the colonies, and by the flattering prospects opened to them in New Jersey, moved to a tract of land on the Passaic river, a few miles north of Elizabethtown, and began a Christian plantation. It was first called Milford, but afterwards Newark, or *New-work*.

About this same time, the people of Branford, New Haven Colony, were also preparing to move, for the same reasons which influenced the Milford

* *Felt, Ecc. Hist.*, 11, 173, 247, 250, 392; *Stearns' Disc.*, p. 22 and note; *Baylies' Plymouth Col.*, 11, 283. Fletcher addressed a letter to Increase Mather, dated at Elizabethtown, March 25, 1681. He is supposed to have left Maine about 1675, and to have come soon after to New Jersey.

people. And after correspondence and consultation and mutual agreements, they decided to unite with their brethren who had preceded them, and make one strong and homogeneous plantation on the banks of the Passaic. This decision was reached, and a covenant was signed by both parties to the number of sixty-three men, on or before June 24, 1667. And thus was begun, on a broad and solid foundation, the first purely New England colony in the Middle States which proved permanent. This emigrating church became the nucleus around which all the members of other churches on the ground gathered; and Newark has to-day two flourishing Congregational churches, with an aggregate membership of seven hundred and fourteen persons.

The unanimity of this Branford movement appears in the fact that the church as a body, and almost the entire population of the town joined in it, carrying with them the records of the town, as well as the church records, and their reverend minister, the Rev. Abraham Pierson. And so utterly depopulated was Branford by this movement that it required more than twenty years to resettle the town and reestablish the church.*

If the question be asked, What was there in the union of the two Connecticut colonies to provoke such wholesale emigration of good men and whole

* *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, i, 289-90; *Felt, Ecc. Hist.*, ii, 412; *Stearns' Disc.*, No. 1.

churches from their pleasant, settled, Christian communities to a distant and an uninhabited wilderness? the answer must be: the apprehension that the union would undermine and endanger most seriously the purity of the churches and the welfare of the State. The two colonies agreed in their general doctrinal views; but they differed on two practical points of importance—in the estimation of the New Haven people, vital importance. The New Haven churches and ministers maintained that church members only should be freeholders, entitled to vote and hold office in town or commonwealth. The Hartford churches held that all orderly planters, whether church members or not, might be freeholders, entitled to act in public affairs, and eligible to any civil office.

There existed also a difference of opinion between the two colonies on another point, of quite as much importance—from our standpoint we should say of much greater importance—namely, as to what sort of persons should be admitted to church ordinances.

The New Haven doctrine was—and this was the primitive New England doctrine—that only regenerate persons who made an open profession of their faith were fit subjects for church fellowship and admissible to church ordinances; and, further, that the two ordinances, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, stood on the same plane and required the same qualifications in the mature recipients. Consequently, they utterly rejected the

"Half-way Covenant," as it was called, which discriminated between the two ordinances, and admitted to baptism the children of persons who, having been baptized themselves, were willing to "own the covenant" of the church, and were persons of good moral character, but unregenerate personally.

Rejecting this dangerous innovation on primitive Congregationalism, the New Haven churches repudiated the decisions and the advice of the famous Synod of 1662, which sanctioned this half-way covenant scheme. But the Hartford churches accepted the theory and adopted the practice recommended by the Synod.

This difference of opinion acted powerfully on the minds of New Haven Christians. This, with the general dissatisfaction felt with the doings of the Connecticut or Hartford people in securing a new charter, comprehending New Haven, without their knowledge and consent, made it more agreeable to many of the people to leave the colony and settle again in the wilderness than to remain and be yoked with Hartford and be governed by her new charter and laws. Accordingly, we find that a portion of the New Haven people removed first to Long Island, and afterwards crossed over into southeastern New York and eastern New Jersey.*

In Morris County, N. J., long after the settlements

* See *History of the Cong. Church of Chester, N. J.*

at and around Newark, they organized Congregational churches; one of which, at Chester, remains a prosperous Congregational church to this day; and others of them were slow to abandon their cherished polity, which, however, they did at last. From these two sources of emigration, both from Connecticut, one direct and the other indirect, the Province of New Jersey was at first mainly settled. They came a Christian people, on religious grounds, and in all cases organized Congregational churches, never dreaming that the polity which they so loved would ever be abandoned. For a period of nearly forty years they moved on in undisturbed prosperity, planting their churches all the way from the Hudson river to Philadelphia. What are now known as the First Presbyterian Churches of Newark, Elizabeth, Orange, Bloomfield, Caldwell, Morristown, Mendham, Shrewsbury, Piscataway, Woodbridge, Springfield, Connecticut Farms, Parsippany, Westfield, Hanover, Hopewell, Freehold and others were organized, and for many years continued to be Congregational churches of the strictest sort.

Among the leading ministers, whose names constantly appear in connection with this early Congregational history in New Jersey, are Abraham Pierson, father and son, the latter afterwards the first president of Yale College; Jonathan and Moses Dickinson, the former first president of the College of New Jersey; Aaron Burr, second president of New Jersey College; Joseph Webb,

Andrew Prudden, Rev. Messrs. Bowers, Evans, Walton, Hubbell, Elmer; and later, Green (father of Ashbel), Bradford, Grover, Dorbe, and many others, whose sympathies were Congregational, but whose first ecclesiastical connections in this region were with Presbytery.

As an illustration of the basis upon which these churches, and especially the earlier ones, were organized, may be quoted the following remarkable agreement, adopted, and subscribed to by sixty-four persons, at Newark, in the spring of 1667. It was agreed: *

"1. That none shall be admitted freemen, or full burgesses, within our town upon Pasaic river, in the Province of New Jersey, but such planters as are members of some or other of the Congregational churches; nor shall any but such be chosen to the magistracy, or to carry on any part of civil judicature, or as deputies or assistants to have power to vote in establishing laws, and making or repealing them, or to any chief military trust or office. Nor shall any but such church members have any vote in any such elections. Though all others permitted to be planters have right to their proper inheritance, and do and shall enjoy all other civil liberties and privileges according to all laws, orders, grants which are, or shall hereafter be made in this town.

"2. We shall with care and diligence provide

* See *Town Records of Newark*.

for the maintenance of the purity of religion professed in the Congregational churches."

It was in this spirit, on such a basis, that the early churches of New Jersey were organized. And yet within from fifty to seventy-five years from the date of the above agreement nearly every Congregational church of the Province had virtually adopted the Presbyterian polity, thus abandoning the ideas for which they contended in Connecticut, and to maintain which they emigrated to New Jersey.

How was this revolution brought about? The immediate and direct cause was the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in this country, and the manner of its establishment, at the opening of the eighteenth century. Until forty years after the settlement and planting of Congregational churches in New Jersey there was no organized Presbyterian church in America. The first so-called Presbytery was organized in Philadelphia, in 1705 or 1706. It had but six or seven members, and of these a majority were Congregationalists. It was only a Presbytery in name. For over twenty years from its organization, and after the one Presbytery had grown into four, constituting the Synod of Philadelphia, there was not any written constitution nor any established creed, nor any form of discipline having authority over the Synod or the Presbyteries, or the churches connected with them. These Presbyteries did not differ in fact from the consociations, then and

afterwards existing in Connecticut, except that they were more loosely constituted and clothed with less of authority.

The Congregational churches having no organizations of their own, joined these Presbyteries, under the impression that the change was unimportant, as the liberty and completeness of the individual churches were not to be interfered with. Had the Presbyterian bodies remained what they were at first, and what practically they continued to be up to 1736—long after the Synod was organized—the union would have wrought no greater harm to the Congregational churches of New Jersey than did a corresponding but more rigorous system to the churches of Connecticut. But when, in 1729, the so-called “Enabling Act” was passed, although it only *recommended* the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Book of Discipline to the churches, if they chose to adopt them, there was yet seen to be a preparation laid for what came seven years later; when, by a majority vote, these standards were made obligatory, not only upon the Synod and Presbyteries, but on all the churches.* The Presbyterian system was now complete, and the Congregational churches were entangled in its meshes. But they were restless there, so that the next twenty years

* *Minutes of the Old Presbytery and Synod of Philadelphia; Gillett's, Hodges' and other histories of Presbyterian Church.*

of American Presbyterian history were years of contest and division.

But the explanation of the influences that Presbyterianized our New Jersey Congregationalism would not be complete if we failed to note other circumstances that conspired indirectly to produce the same result, such as the following: 1. The churches were scattered and isolated. They were rather Independent than Congregational. They had no associations or conferences to bring them together for mutual sympathy and consultation. Some of them belonged to New England associations, but these were too far away to be of much actual service. But for this misfortune and mistake they could hardly have lost their original polity. 2. Another circumstance that favored the change was the well-known anomalous attitude which Congregationalism was at that time assuming in Connecticut. It had become in spirit, and almost in form, a system of Presbyterianism. The Connecticut influence upon the churches of the New Jersey colony was very great; and it was exerted to turn these churches into the Presbyterian system. Our limits forbid detail, but the facts are well known. 3. Another circumstance which favored the change was the impression, carefully inculcated, that between the Presbyterian and Congregational systems there was really no important difference. As to doctrine this was true; but not as to polity. And yet it seemed true, from the fact that the Presbyterianism of England at the

time was more like the Congregationalism of this day than it was like the existing Presbyterian system. This idea that the systems did not differ, helped on the change. 4. Another circumstance favoring the change was the necessity that existed, and the desire which prevailed for coöperative effort. Working together, the churches assimilated, and the stronger government was the anaconda to the weaker.

Under influences like these, the early Congregationalism of New Jersey passed into the Presbyterian system. That it did so was, after all, less the fault of Presbyterians than of Congregationalists themselves; particularly those of Connecticut. It was a long time, however, before all the Congregational churches of New Jersey lost their original character, some of them holding out until far into the nineteenth century.

The last and only organized protest against the absorption of our churches into the Presbyterian system was made under the leadership of Rev. Jacob Green in 1780. At that date he, with several other pastors, withdrew from the Presbyterian church and organized at Hanover, N. J., what was styled the "Associated Presbytery of Morris Co." This body was purely a Congregational association.* In assigning their reasons for withdrawing

* See *A Brief Account of the Associated Presbyteries* and a general view of their sentiments concerning religion and ecclesiastical order, published 1796; *Gillett's History of the Presbyterian*

from Presbytery, these brethren said: "We think you have such notions of Presbyterial power and church government as are not agreeable to our free institutions."

Within ten years this body was greatly enlarged, and in less than twenty years three or four similar associations had been organized, extending into New York and up the Hudson river, until in 1800 the churches and ministers belonging to this new Congregational movement were more numerous than was the whole Presbyterian church of America at their first division, sixty years before. But all this, with much besides, was destined to disappear, and did rapidly disappear, under the influence of that well-known "Plan of Union" negotiated by the Congregationalists of Connecticut with the Presbyterian church in 1801.

As for the recent history and present state of Congregationalism in New Jersey, it is all comprised (excepting the church at Chester, now one hundred and seventy years old) within the last twenty-five years, and most of it within half that period. The General Association of New Jersey has now within its bounds thirty-one churches; but only twenty-three of these are within the State limits. The association embraces several churches in southeastern New York, that geographically

Church, vol. 11, chap. ii; also *A View of a Christian Church and Church Government*, with an appendix published by the Associated Presbytery of Morris Co., N. J., in 1781.

and historically belong to it, and also extends southward, including three in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, one in Virginia, and one in the District of Columbia.

The New Jersey churches have at present a membership of about thirty-three hundred. Their church property is worth one million dollars. The current expenses of these churches for the year 1873 was sixty-four thousand five hundred thirty-five dollars; and besides meeting these expenses and paying off debts to the amount of two thousand eight hundred dollars, they contributed to other benevolent objects thirty-six thousand five hundred thirty-eight dollars. If the above figures are reduced by about one third, the actual condition of the Congregational churches of New Jersey alone will be approximately represented.

What the future of this New Jersey history of Congregationalism shall be, the future alone can reveal! But if the last quarter of a century shall be the criterion of the next quarter, then it would seem that the field watered by the sweat, and subdued by the toil of our Congregational fathers, two hundred years ago, is still congenial to the same sort of planting. The churches of our day are to fulfil the prophecy of theirs. Learning wisdom from their mistake, we are to build new temples on the places of the old ones, and to lay their foundations deep and strong, so that they shall not slide again from the simple faith and polity

that have distinguished the brotherhood of Congregational churches.

NOTE. The best part of this sketch of New Jersey Congregationalism has been kindly prepared for this history, by the Rev. William B. Brown, for many years pastor of the First Congregational Church of Newark, N. J., and now Secretary of the American Congregational Union. Mr. Brown has devoted his leisure hours for many years to the collection of materials for a special history of the denomination in New Jersey, which it is to be hoped he may find time soon to publish. No man living probably is so well qualified to do justice to such a work. In confirmation and illustration of some of the statements in the preceding sketch, I am tempted to copy from an old letter, addressed to me in 1840, by the Rev. David Abel of Ketcham's Corners, Saratoga, N. Y. In this he writes :

"In New Jersey formerly a large number of the churches were Congregational, united by an association termed the Morristown Presbytery. Of this circumstance the Presbyterians connected with the General Assembly availed themselves, and have thereby obtained possession of a large fund for the education of candidates for the ministry, and induced the churches to unite with their Presbyteries. These churches have for the greater part retained their church covenants, and in many instances their articles of faith, until within a few years ; and some still continue them. They have changed the Scriptural title of Deacon into Elder, though the office is virtually retained, with the addition of a seat in the Presbyteries. . . .

"In the State of New York, in its southern counties, were formerly many churches of the Congregational order, at first connected with the Morristown Presbytery, and afterwards with a similar ecclesiastical body called the West Chester Presbytery. These churches, though strictly Congregational in principle, were generally termed Presbyterian, from the fact that the association in which they were united was called a Presbytery."

This, he says, has led to the subversion of most of these churches, while others have been deprived of their meeting-houses and their church property.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONGREGATIONALISTS IN NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA AND
GEORGIA—CAPE FEAR, 1660—CHARLESTON, 1689—AND OTHER
SOUTHERN LOCALITIES.

THE migratory habits of the early New England Congregationalists have already been illustrated by tracing their steps to the West Indies, to Virginia, Maryland, Long Island and New Jersey. We are next to follow them to North and South Carolina and to Georgia.

Contrary to the popular impression, it is a well established fact, that a majority of the earliest settlers in Carolina were dissenters from the Church of England, as well as from the Church of Rome. Among them were Scotch, Irish, Dutch, and English Presbyterians, Huguenots, Moravians, Waldenses, Independents and Quakers. A majority of the original proprietors of the colony were, indeed, Churchmen; but their colonists were mainly dissenters, and many of them persons of good estate and of great moral worth. This was true even of several of the early governors of Carolina. Joseph Morton, governor in 1682 and in 1685, was a dissenter. His wife was a sister of Admiral Blake. Joseph Blake (nephew of Cromwell's favorite admiral), who was governor of the colony in 1694, was also a dissenter, and brought

over with him to Carolina many of his own faith. John Archdale, who was governor in 1695, was a Quaker, a pious, intelligent and energetic man. The father of Governor Blake, Joseph Blake, Sr., himself a conscientious dissenter, and a man of noble character and extended influence, emigrated to Carolina about 1683, "and he had so great an interest among persons of his principles . . . the dissenters—that many honest, substantial persons engaged to go over with him." *

Indeed, it seems to have been the set purpose of the early proprietors—among whom were the Earl of Clarendon, Lord John Berkley and Sir George Carteret—to make their colony attractive to dissenters from the Church of England; for they obtained from Charles II, in 1663, authority by charter to allow the inhabitants of South

* *Oldmixon's British Empire in America*, I, 334; II, 338. Oldmixon, it seems, lived in Mr. Joseph Blake's family about the time of their removal to Carolina, "and remembers, though then very young, the reasons old Mr. Blake used to give for leaving England; one of which was, that the miseries they endured, meaning the dissenters, then, were nothing to what he foresaw would attend the reign of a Popish successor; wherefore he resolved to remove to Carolina." *Archdale* says: "In Governour Moreton's time General Blake's brother, with many dissenters, came to Carolina; which Blake, being a wise and prudent person, of an heroic temper of spirit, strengthened the hands of sober inclined people, and kept under the first loose and extravagant spirits." — *Ib.*, 329; also, 341.

In June, 1695, Governor Blake gave a thousand pounds sterling to the Independent or Congregational church in Charleston, S. C.

Carolina such indulgences and dispensations in religious affairs as they, in their discretion, should think proper and reasonable; and to promise that no person to whom such liberty should be granted should be molested, punished, or called in question for any differences in speculative opinions with respect to religion, provided he disturbed not the civil order and peace of the community.* And in 1665, when John Yeamans of Barbadoes was made Commander-in-chief of the County of Clarendon, S. C., and led thither a body of planters from Barbadoes, he was directed by the proprietors "to make everything easy to the people of New England, from which the greatest emigrations are expected; as the southern colonies are already drained." And in all this early history

* *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 327-9, 340. *Oldmixon* says: "The Proprietaries, after they had got their charter, gave due encouragement for persons to settle in this Province; and there being express provision made in it for a toleration and indulgence to all Christians in the free exercise of their religion, great numbers of Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England retired thither" — *British Empire*, 1, 331. "The first proprietors were so sensible that nothing could people that Province and enrich it, but an universal and absolute toleration, that they made the most express and ample provision for such a toleration that ever was made in any constitution in the world, as may be seen in the 90th, 101st, 102d, 106th articles of the Fundamental Constitutions." — Quoted by *Oldmixon, ut sup.* These Constitutions were drawn by the famous Earl of Shaftsbury (Anthony Ashley Cooper), one of the proprietors, to whom Locke is supposed to have been indebted for the groundwork of his celebrated essay on Toleration. — *Oldmixon; Allibone.*

of Carolina we can see that the proprietors held out strong inducements to New England people to immigrate, independently of, and in addition to all that a genial climate and a fertile soil and unlimited acres offered them.*

CAPE FEAR CONGREGATIONAL COLONY, 1660.

The earliest movement of New England people towards colonizing in Carolina was in 1660, when a few adventurers from Massachusetts, supposing that they had a right to the soil as first occupants and purchasers from the natives, began a colony at Cape Fear, near the southern extremity of what is now North Carolina. We know very little about this colony, only that the people were subjected to many privations and much suffering. In 1667 a letter was read to the General Court of Massachusetts, from John Vassal and others, who had gone from New England and settled about Cape Fear, Carolina, representing that they were in great distress, and asking relief.

The court ordered that further contributions should be taken up for these suffering brethren; though a vessel had already sailed with supplies

* *Holmes*, 1, 341, note 1. See also *Ramsay's History of South Carolina*, 11, chap. 1; *Howe's History of the Presbyterian Church in S. C.*, 1, 65-77, 85-6, 99, 118, 131 *et passim*.

All free persons were offered fifty acres of land for themselves, fifty more for each man servant, fifty more for each woman servant marriageable, and forty if unmarried.

furnished by several towns to whom the wants of the colony had been previously made known.*

It was at the desire of this New England colony that the lords proprietors of Carolina issued their liberal proposals to immigrants in 1663. These proposals offered to the colonists the privilege of selecting thirteen persons from their own number, from whom the proprietors should choose a governor and a council of six, for three years; and further, that an assembly of delegates, together with the Governor and Council, should be called together to make laws, and that every one should enjoy the most perfect freedom in religion; and that during five years, every freeman who settled in the colony should be allowed one hundred acres of land for himself and fifty acres for every servant, paying one half penny only per acre.

What became of this colony is not known. Probably, disappointed in regard to their civil and religious rights and privileges, which the proprietors encouraged them to expect, and in the desirableness of the locality as a place of residence, they gave up the attempt to establish a colony at

* This contradicts the tradition mentioned by Williamson, in his history of North Carolina, that this colony was driven away by the hostile Indians.—See *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 317; *Felt*, 1, 307.

The government of Great Britain in 1729 bought out the lords proprietors of Carolina, and divided the Province into two distinct governments, North Carolina and South Carolina.

Cape Fear, and scattered into other settlements, or returned to New England.*

THE INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
CHARLESTON, 1691.

Whatever may have been the fate of the Cape Fear colony, it did not prevent the migratory saints of New England from making other efforts to establish themselves in the Province of Carolina. For we are told that in 1691 the Rev. Benjamin Pierpont, a graduate of Harvard in 1689, emigrated from the neighborhood of Boston, with a select company, to form an Independent church in Charleston, S. C. He was a young man, but lived only six or eight years after his arrival in Charleston, dying in 1697 or 1698, at the age of about thirty.† He seems, however, to have lived long enough to organize and establish a Congregational church in Charleston; for Ramsay says that he was the first pastor of the Independent church in that place. He was followed in that pastorate by the Rev. Mr. Adams, whose ministry was very brief. The third pastor was the Rev. John Cotton, for nearly thirty years pastor of the Old Plymouth church. Owing to some disagreement between him and a part of his people, he resigned his

* *Hutchinson's Hist. Mass.*, 1, 200; *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 317, 327-29; *Felt, Ecc. Hist.*, 1, 397, 417.

† *Allen's Biog. Dic.*, art. Pierpont; *Ramsay*, 11, 28, 29, who says, "Pierpont died, it is supposed, in 1696 or 7." *Allen* says, "He died near Charleston, in 1698."

office at Plymouth and accepted an invitation to Charleston. He left New England in November, 1698, and immediately on his arrival out, became the pastor of the Independent church in that town, then, as it was said, "much of a heathenish place." His brief ministry was eminently useful and successful. But he was cut off by "the horrible plague of Barbadoes," in September, 1699, ⁹ at the age of sixty.*

* *Ramsay; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iv, series i, 128; *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 469; *Allen's Dic.*, art. Cotton; *Baylies' Mem. of Plymouth Colony*, iv, 73-5 and note.

In a manuscript history of the Cotton family, and the Diary of Josiah Cotton, son of Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth, we find the following, relating to Mr. Cotton's removal to Charleston: "My Father having a call to Charlestown, the chief place in South Carolina, by their messenger, the worthy Robert Fenwick, Esq., he accepted of the same; and having settled his affairs here, he took shipping at Boston, with the ^{sd} Mr. Fenwick and the Revd Mr. Lord, etc., and set sail for Carolina, on Tuesday, November 15, 1698; where he arrived December 7 following. . . Here he set himself to do all the good he could, and was very abundant and successful in his labors. He gathered a church, and was settled pastor of it, March 15. He set up catechising; preached a lecture once a fortnight; had private meetings, private fasts along with others; made frequent visits to the sick, opposed gainsayers, satisfied the doubtful, and was the instrument of edifying and quickening many saints, and converting many sinners. In the short time of his continuance among them there were many baptized and about twenty-five new members rec^d to full communion. He had abundant respect shown him by those that were good, and also by some that were great; even the governor himself, etc. He was thus counted worthy of, and rec^d double honour." After giving several short extracts from his father's writings, the biographer continues: "My father kept a Journal or rather a Diary of Remarkables, from the time of his

Mr. Cotton's successor was the Rev. Archibald Stobo, 1700-1704. His successor was the Rev. William Livingston, 1704-1720; and his, the Rev. Nathan Basset, 1724-1738; who was followed by the Rev. James Parker, 1740-1742; the Rev. Josiah Smith, 1742-1750; Rev. James Edmonds, 1754-1757; Rev. William Hutson, 1757-1761; Rev. Andrew Bennet, 1762-1763; Rev. John Thomas, 1767-1771; Rev. William Tennent, 1772-1777; Rev. William Hollingshead, 1783-1813; Rev. Isaac S. Keith, co-pastor, 1788-1813; Rev. Benjamin M. Palmer, 1814-1835; Rev. Reuben Post, 1836-1858; Rev. Thomas O. Rice, 1860-1864; Rev. Wm. H. Adams, 1867—, who until quite recently remained pastor of this venerable and remarkable church.

After Mr. Tennent's death, in 1777, the church had no pastor until the close of the Revolutionary

going from New England, to September 14, 1699, which was but four days before his death. A great sickness and mortality, that began at Charleston, August 17, 1699 (wherein no less than one hundred and seventy-six persons died) carried off my father, September 18, 1699, in the sixtieth year of his life, to the great loss and grief of the people, in the service of whose souls he was thus strenuously and earnestly engaged . . . Mr. Fenwick, in a letter to Mr. Brigham, writes thus: 'our precious Cotton is dead. The church there buried him, and as I am informed, erected a monument on his grave.' " . . .

A copy of this manuscript was in the hands of the late Wm. G. Brooke, Esq., of Boston, a descendant of the Cotton family; and to his kindness I am indebted for a sight of this curious and valuable document. It fills a small quarto of some two hundred and thirty pages.

War. Indeed, during the occupancy of Charleston by the British troops, the Independent meeting-house was used as a hospital or as a store-house. The pews were stripped out and the house was materially injured.

The exact date of the organization of "the Independent or Congregational Church of Charleston" is involved in some uncertainty. It is indeed, as Dr. Howe, the church historian of South Carolina, terms it, "a puzzle." * The commonly received belief is, that it was formed by the Rev. John Cotton, son of John Cotton of Boston, in 1698.† But, according to Ramsay, this church had been in existence at least eight years when Mr. Cotton became its pastor; having been organized some time between 1680 and 1690, and having had two pastors previous to 1698, namely: the Rev. Benjamin Pierpont and the Rev. Mr. Adams. And in support of his assertion, Ramsay quotes a letter,‡ written by the church to Drs. Guyse, Doddridge and Jennings, of England, in 1750, in which

* *MS. Letter to the Author*: "There is a puzzle about the origin of the Congregational church in Charleston, which has been known from time to time by different names" Rev. Geo. Howe, D.D., is the author of the admirable *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, and is probably better acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of that State than any other living man.

† *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. iv, series i, p. 128; *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 409.

‡ *Ramsay's History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston, S.C.*, p. 2. Phil., 1815. 8vo, 74 pages.

it is said "that upwards of sixty years ago they had been a church."

But the Rev. John Danforth, of Dorchester, Mass., in his farewell sermon to a body of emigrants from that church to South Carolina, in 1695, says: "You well know what importunity was used with our minister, by letters and otherwise, that both a minister should be sent to those remote places, and that he should be here ordained also; sundry godly Christians there being both prepared for, and longing after the enjoyment of all the edifying ordinances of God; there being withal in all that country neither ordained minister, nor any church in full gospel order, and so neither imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, nor donation of the right hand of fellowship to be expected there, or from any place much nearer to them than ourselves."

And we learn further, that on the 2d of February (1695-6) the Lord's Supper was for the first time administered in that colony.*

It is inconceivable that all this could have been said at the time, by one who must have known the

* *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 461 and note 2. In saying that there was "in all that country neither ordained minister nor any church in full gospel order," in 1695, Mr. Danforth doubtless meant, no Congregational or Presbyterian church and minister. It is difficult to suppose that he was mistaken in regard to these matters, having had correspondence and personal conversation with Carolina Christians on the subject.

facts, if there had been a regularly constituted church for five years or more in Charleston.

To reconcile these conflicting statements, we may suppose that there had been in Charleston a religious society, composed of Christian men and women of different denominations, from an early date—1690, or earlier; which was, in common parlance, called *a church*—a congregation of good people habitually meeting together for religious worship—but yet had never been formally organized into a Christian church until 1698, after Mr. Cotton's arrival in Charleston. It certainly seems to have been true, that up to that time there was little or no recognized distinction between "church members" and "supporters" of the ministry; and in fact, to a much later date, for Ramsay tells us: "Inconveniences resulted from an undefined way of doing church business, which prevailed till the middle of the eighteenth century;" when a line of distinction was drawn between "members" and "supporters." In 1750 it was voted by the corporation, "that hereafter the sole power of nominating, as well as of displacing or suspending the pastor or minister of this church, shall be only in such freemen as are members for the time being, admitted by consent of the pastor and members of the said church, into full communion therewith, and which have contributed to the support thereof, at least two years then last past." *

* *Hist. Independent Church, Charleston, S. C.*, pp. 10, 11.

And this would not be a specially anomalous state of things for that age. In the history of the dispersion of the first settlers of this country, even in New England, there are several cases in which religious worship was maintained and also a minister was called and supported by the planters of a particular place, for a considerable length of time before a church was constituted. For example, the town of Portsmouth, N. H. — or rather, “thirty-six subscribers,” residents of that place — called Joshua Moody from Massachusetts, in 1658, and the town voted to settle him; and from that date to 1671, though the active and efficient minister of Portsmouth, he had no church. He had a society and a meeting-house, but not an organized church.* So it may have been in Charleston. There may have been an Independent religious society or corporation, a meeting-house, and a minister, for several years before a church was regularly organized, and yet this corporation may have been called in common speech the “Independent Church” of Charleston.

The Charleston church, though substantially Congregational in its polity, was avowedly undenominational. It was made up at first of evangelical believers from England and Scotland and Ireland and France and New England. It embraced

* See Whiting's sketch of Portsmouth Church, in *The New Hampshire Churches*, p. 118; or *ante*, this volume, sketch of Congregationalism in New Hampshire, chap. vi.

Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Huguenots; and its pastors were either Congregationalists or Presbyterians, from New or Old England, Scotland, or Ireland, or Wales, as was most convenient. The first three ministers of this church were Congregationalists from New England: Messrs. Pierpont, Adams and Cotton; the fourth, Mr. Stobo, was a Scotchman and a Presbyterian — being the first minister of that order who settled in South Carolina; and though the pastor of an Independent Congregational church, he was nevertheless an active promoter of Presbyterianism, establishing churches in different parts of the Province. Mr. Livingston was probably Scotch-Irish; Mr. Basset was from New England; Messrs. Parke, Edmonds, Hutson and Bennet were all English; Thomas was a Welshman; all the others were Americans, and the last three New England men. Mr. Hutson was a follower of George Whitefield, and came with him to this country about 1740. He first officiated at the orphan house in Savannah; and then, to the dissenting congregation at Stoney or Stony Creek.*

* *Ramsay's Hist. Independent Ch'h*, pp. 11-32; *Manual* of that church, *passim*. Ramsay has preserved interesting sketches of most of the early pastors. Carolina was a favorite resort of the persecuted French Protestants of the seventeenth century. "The first notable increase of the population of the colony by French Protestants took place in 1680. An English frigate, 'The Richmond,' brought, in that year, forty-five refugees to Carolina, by the express command of Charles II, who paid, himself, the expense of their transportation. A more considerable

It was an article of their church constitution "to have no absolute, invariable form, but to act upon the freest and most liberal principles, as occasion might serve and edification direct." Their doctrinal creed, however, embraced substantially what is understood by the "doctrines of the Reformation," "the evangelical system;" "the same as in the Confession of Faith and catechisms of the Presbyterian church of the United States." *

For nearly half a century the Independents and Presbyterians worshipped together in the same house; and they were called sometimes an "Independent," sometimes a "Congregationalist," sometimes a "Presbyterian" church.

This state of things continued until about 1731, when the Presbyterians separated themselves, and formed the first Presbyterian church of Charleston.† Still, the old church, worshipping in the "white meeting-house," continued to be called Presbyterian, Congregational and Independents; and at a later period, the "Circular Church," from the form of its meeting-house, completed and dedicated in 1806, which stood until 1861, when it was unfortunately destroyed by fire. After this, the congregation for four years met in halls, or

number soon followed them in another vessel, chartered by the English government." — *Weiss' History of the French Protestant Refugees*, 1, 333. New York, 1854. 2 vols, 12mo, pp. 382, 419.

* *Manual of the Independent or Congregational (Circular) Church, of Charleston, S. C.*

† *Manual of the Circular Church.*

the chapels of other religious societies, until the evacuation of the city and the dispersion of the inhabitants in 1865. After that, their public worship was entirely suspended for some time. A year after the close of the war, a remnant of the old church and society gathered around the ruins of their meeting-house and resolved to rebuild. Having finished their lecture room, they invited a young minister from New England to become their pastor — the Rev. William H. Adams, son of the late Rev. N. Adams, D. D. Under his efficient ministry, one hundred and seven of the White members of the church and about sixty of the Colored members were gathered again on the consecrated spot, where for a century and a half at least this venerable church had worshipped the God of its fathers.

This church early vindicated its Puritan origin, by establishing, in 1789, a "Society for the benefit of elderly or disabled ministers, and of the widows and orphans of the clergy of the Independent or Congregational church in South Carolina." This society originally consisted of forty-seven members, who paid annually one pound sterling into the treasury. In 1809 the capital of the society amounted to twenty-nine thousand dollars, and its annual income to about two thousand dollars. At the present time, its funds are nominally much larger — nearly or quite double.

In 1862 the Charleston Congregationalists, in imitation of their brethren at the North, formed a

society for promoting the interests of religion — supporting missionaries among the destitute inhabitants of the State, and distributing Bibles, tracts, and religious books.*

The first Sabbath school in South Carolina was established by the old Circular Church, January 1, 1817, and the same year a Tuesday afternoon prayer-meeting was instituted, in addition to the old Wednesday evening church prayer-meeting — which dates back a hundred years or so — and a Thursday morning female prayer-meeting. The Charleston Bible Society — which preceded the American Bible Society by six years, and is but six years younger than the British and Foreign Bible Society — originated with one of the pastors of this ancient Congregational church, the Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Keith. The Congregational and Presbyterian Education Society was first projected at the house of another of its pastors, the Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, March 8, 1816.†

This church has also raised up and given to the work of the ministry, in our own land and in Pagan countries, more than twenty persons. Altogether, it has a noble record — one of which any church in this country might well be proud.

In 1787 the congregation of the “White Meeting,” as it was commonly called, had so increased, that it became necessary to build and dedicate a new house of worship, in Archdale street, and to

* *Ramsay*, II, 41, 366.

† *Manual of the Circular Church*.

call an associate pastor, the Rev. I. S. Keith, to aid Dr. Hollinshead. They preached alternately in the two houses, which were soon filled. This pleasant association continued for nearly twenty years, when, in July, 1817, the Archdale congregation separated from the church in "Meeting street," and ultimately assumed the name of "The Unitarian Church," which it still retains.*

Having thus sketched the history of the earliest development of Congregationalism or Independency in South Carolina, particularly in Charleston, we pass to another equally interesting movement of the same kind in another part of that colony.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF DORCHESTER,
S. C., AND MIDWAY, GA., 1695-1876.

Another and a very successful attempt to plant Puritan institutions on Southern soil was made by the old church in Dorchester, Massachusetts, soon after the Charleston church was formed.

At the earnest solicitation of some religious planters in Carolina, one of whom, William Norman, came to Massachusetts on this express errand—a Congregational church of nine members, of whom Norman was one, was organized at Dorchester, on the 22d of October, 1695, for the purpose

* *Manual.*

of meeting this earnest call from the South; the avowed object of this organization being "to encourage the settlement of churches and the promotion of religion in the southern plantations."*

On the 5th-14th of December, 1695, this little church, with its pastor, embarked for Carolina, in two small vessels. After a tempestuous passage, they arrived out in safety; one in fourteen days, and the other in nearly thirty days. From Charleston, where they first landed, these emigrants made their way up the northeastern branch of the Ashley river, eighteen or twenty miles, to a rich and attractive section of land, about half a mile from the left bank of the river. Here they rested, and on this pleasant spot resolved to rear a New England village, which they named "Dorchester," in affectionate remembrance of their northern home.

On this spot — then an unbroken wilderness, nearly twenty miles from any White settlement — this little pilgrim church, on the second day of February, 1695-6, celebrated the Lord's Supper for the first time — and it is said, "for the first time administered in that colony" — under the shelter of a great poplar tree; thus consecrating themselves in their new home to the service of their Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. Having

* *Holmes' Ann.*, i, 461; *Howe's Hist. Presb. Ch'h, S. C.*, i, 120 —. Dr. Howe suggests that these Carolina planters were from the English counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, and were drawn towards Dorchester, Mass., because the settlers of that town were originally from the same English counties.

thus begun life anew in the wilderness, they proceeded with all convenient despatch to lay out their settlement, and build their cottages, and arrange their civil and ecclesiastical affairs.

On this chosen spot these New England Christians lived and prospered, year after year increasing in number and in wealth, strictly maintaining their identity and their marked characteristics as a peculiar people, and showing their New England origin in a variety of ways, one of which was, in building, at an early day, a spacious and substantial meeting-house, large enough to accommodate their increasing congregation, strong enough to endure for generations, and comely enough to please a thrifty New England parish.* Another was, in founding a free school.

* In 1754, fifty-eight years after the removal of this little church of nine members to South Carolina, they had increased to eight hundred and sixteen persons — men, women, and children. See an interesting article by the Rev. J. H. Means, pastor of the Second Church of Dorchester, Mass., in *Congregational Quarterly*, vol. x, p. 178.

The historically famous old tree around which the little church of Dorchester, S. C., gathered to celebrate their first communion season, was standing within a comparatively few years. The Rev. Wm. H. Adams, then pastor of the Circular church of Charleston, S. C., wrote me, March 13, 1874: "I preached there [in the old Dorchester meeting-house] twice during the war. It was a thrilling scene — that old, conical roof, high vaulted, with sounding board and lofty pulpit. The old *poplar tree* under which they celebrated their first communion season was lying, recently prostrated by a storm, and rapidly decaying." — *MS. Letter*.

"In 1717 the town (Dorchester) contained eighteen hundred inhabitants, and in 1723 it had a market, semi-annual fair and a

Prospered and blessed themselves, they were a blessing to all around them. Dr. Stevens, the careful and elegant historian of Georgia, pronounces this eulogium on the Dorchester church: "The colony of Carolina derived many important advantages from New England; but nothing that at all equalled the benefits conferred through the emigration of this Christian church, and the planting of it, with all its precious ordinances and influences, in the vicinity of its capital. It was a work honorable to the character, and worthy of the religion of the Puritans." *

After a peaceable and prosperous residence of fifty years and more in South Carolina, the Dorchester people began to agitate the question of removing in a body to some other locality. How much purely religious considerations may have influenced them, may be uncertain; though the Rev. C. C. Jones, who was a native of Liberty County, where Dorchester was situate, and was quite familiar with its history, says that their reasons for

free school. . . And with the industry and thrift of their race, they speedily built up a settlement of importance, and established a thriving trade with the surrounding country." — *Harper's Magazine* for November, 1875.

* *A History of Georgia, from its First Discovery by Europeans to the Adoption of the Present Constitution, in 1797.* By William Bacon Stevens, D. D., M.D., LL.D., 1, 377. Two vols., 8vo, 1847 and 1859, pp. 503 and 524. See also *Howe's History Presbyterian Church in S. C.*, 1, 317-18.

leaving Dorchester were "chiefly of a religious nature."*

It is not unlikely that the manifest intention of the ruling men in South Carolina at that time—in violation of the early promises and pledges of its original proprietors—to make Episcopacy the established religion of the colony, and to exclude dissenters from all participation in its government—may have seriously influenced the Dorchester Puritans. For in 1698 the legislature of South Carolina passed an act "to settle a maintenance on a minister of the Church of England in Charlestown;"† and in 1704, when that church had only one parish in the colony, while the dissenters had four, the Episcopalians obtained by careful management a legal establishment, which "made it necessary for all persons thereafter chosen members of the Commons (House of Assembly) to conform to the religious worship of the Church of England." And notwithstanding the protest of the dissenters against this partial and offensive legislation, the Episcopal party continued to maintain and extend their assumed power in the colony, and in the course of a few years divided off the country into ten parishes, and made each parish a corporation. At the same time money was provided by the legislature to build and repair

* *Tenth Report of the Association for the Religious Instruction of Negroes in Liberty County, Ga.*

† *Ramsay's History of South Carolina*, II, 2.

Episcopal churches; lands were provided for glebes and church-yards; and salaries of rectors, clerks and sextons were fixed by law, and made payable out of the public treasury.*

This partisan and exclusive legislation for one religious denomination, in preference to all others and to the exclusion of all others—though practically it did not trouble dissenters much—must have been quite offensive to the flourishing Congregational settlement in Dorchester, and no doubt had considerable influence in causing their removal. The reputed unhealthiness of Dorchester may also have influenced the decision of this question; though it was certainly rather late in the history of the settlement to make this discovery. But after all, it is quite probable that the chief considerations in favor of a removal of these Puritans from Dorchester were similar to those which moved the Leyden church to Plymouth, and which removed some of the early New England churches, and even the entire population of towns, from one locality to another, viz.: “The narrowness of their lands, the increase of their population, and the tendency of the younger members of their community to remove, in order to make profitable settlements.”†

The Dorchester people had heard of the rich lands of Georgia, and they doubtless knew of the

* *Ramsay*, 11, 2-5.

† *Stevens' Hist. Ga.*, 1, 378; *Howe's Pres. Ch'h in S. C.*, 1, 268-70.

favor shown to religious people by Governor Oglethorpe — Charles Wesley being his private secretary and chaplain, and John Wesley being the minister of the colony, and George Whitfield being early invited to the colony and encouraged to establish his orphan asylum at Savannah, the capital of the colony ; in short, that one prominent end in the settlement of the colony was to open an asylum for the persecuted Protestants of Europe, and to carry pure Christianity to the native Indians. All this being known by the Dorchester church, naturally turned their attention towards Georgia. And then, too, it was an adjoining territory. And if they could be suited there, they would not have far to move. So the church deputed three brethren to visit Georgia and look for a fit place for a new settlement of the entire church and society.

These men left Dorchester on the 11th of May, 1752, and soon found a tract of land adapted, as they thought, to the wants of their congregation, situate about half way between the two great rivers of Georgia, the Savannah and the Altamaha. The readiness with which this land was selected — five days only after the agents left Dorchester — suggests that they must have had some knowledge of it before leaving home ; or that their survey of the country must have been very hasty and superficial. However this may have been, the location was strongly recommended to the Dorchester people, and though not approved by many of them, was finally accepted by the majority, and

a purchase of thirty-two thousand acres of land in a compact body was made, and preparations were at once begun for moving.

Early in August, thirteen men were despatched from Dorchester to survey the land, lay it out and begin a settlement. But misfortune and disasters delayed the work, and no settlement was actually made there until December 6, 1752; when two Dorchester families arrived and began to build. These families were Benjamin Baker's and Samuel Bacon's. They were soon followed by six other families, and from time to time by others, until March, 1754, when the pastor and the great majority of the church removed. Still, the work of immigration from Dorchester lingered, and was not really finished until about 1771.

Eight years at least after the first settlers established themselves in Georgia — and we know not how much longer — there were families enough living around the old Dorchester meeting-house to maintain public worship, being supplied by the Rev. Andrew Bennet.*

The tract of land on which the settlement in Georgia was made, was in the centre of the lands purchased by General Oglethorpe of the Creek Indians, in 1733; and was bounded on the north by the Sudbury river, and on the south by the Newport river, in what was known as the "Midway District," because situate about midway

* *Howe's Hist. Presb.*, 1, 300, 312; *Stevens' Hist.*, 1, 378 —.

between the two great rivers which formed originally the boundary lines of the colony of Georgia.

The Dorchester people found a few planters in the district when they began to move to it; and many others were attracted thither by the deservedly high reputation of the Puritan settlers, of whom a distinguished Georgian wrote about the time of their arrival in the colony: "We have an extraordinary character of them from all quarters." * The district was rapidly settled, and in 1758 these Indian lands were divided into eight parishes, and the Midway District was called "St. John's Parish."

The first care of the Midway pilgrims, after getting up some shelters for their families, was to erect a small log meeting-house—the first house of prayer ever seen in the district. On the 7th of June, 1754, Mr. Osgood preached his first sermon in this house. In August, a plantation covenant was made and adopted by these planters, which has the genuine New England ring in it. This compact embraced provisions for both the civil and religious government of the settlement. By it the planters solemnly engaged, first of all, to build a meeting-house, and, to the extent of their respective abilities, to support the ministry and the ordinances of Christianity among them. They agreed, also, to commit their public business to

* *Stevens' Hist. Georgia*, 1, 380; Rev. Mr. Means, in *Congregational Quarterly*, x, 170.

the care of three men, to be chosen annually; and to have an annual parish assembly, in order to consult for the good of the society. In secular matters, they agreed to be governed by the majority; and in ecclesiastical matters, to allow church members two votes. In order to preserve their identity and homogeneity as a people, and to have their "children after them compactly settled together," they covenanted not to sell any land to a stranger or an outside person, without first giving the society the refusal of it. This simple compact served the purpose of the Dorchester-Midway settlers for years; and under it, they grew and prospered, having favor with God and all good men near them.

The log meeting-house in which this covenant was adopted, answered for all public and general meetings, secular and religious, for about three years. Then it was superseded by a handsome frame meeting-house with galleries. This house served as a place of worship and general rendezvous until November, 1778, when it was burned, with most of the dwelling-houses of the town and the crops in stacks, by the British and Tories, under General Prevost, in retaliation for the patriotic course of these Puritans in the American Revolution. The people were thus scattered, and their minister, the Rev. Mr. Allen,* while serving

* Dr. Holmes, who was the minister of this people in 1785, says, that besides burning the meeting-house and almost every dwelling-house at Midway, and all the rice and other grain with-

as chaplain to the Georgia brigade, was taken prisoner and subjected to very hard treatment on board a prison-ship, in attempting to escape from which he was drowned.

Near the close of the war, the scattered congregation returned to their desolated homes, rebuilt their houses and erected a temporary meeting-house, which was enlarged and improved in 1785.

In further explanation of the hard usage experienced by the Midway people at the hands of the British, some reference must be made to the patriotism of these Southern Yankees. From the very outset of the Revolutionary struggle, these Congregationalists vindicated their Puritanism by their decided and patriotic course. Georgia hesitated for some time whether or not to join the other colonies in their revolutionary measures. Indeed, the colonial assembly was so backward in its movements, that the patriots of Charleston, S. C., at a

in their reach, the enemy carried off the negroes, horses, cattle, and plate belonging to the planters. This hostile force of English regulars and Southern refugees was organized in Eastern Florida, and their object was to take Savannah. But they encountered so much opposition, having to skirmish with the militia along their march from the Altamaha, that they were discouraged, and finally gave up Savannah and retreated to Florida; and it was on their retreat, that Midway was ravaged and burned. The men of the settlement were at the time with the militia, and the commanding officer of the Americans was General Screven, a very valuable officer and most estimable man, a resident of Midway, who was killed in one of the skirmishes.—*Holmes' Ann.*, 11, 289.

great meeting in July, 1770, voted that, because the inhabitants of Georgia generally did not come into the non-importation agreement with the other colonies, they "ought to be amputated from the rest of the brethren, as a rotten part that might spread a dangerous infection." * At this crisis, the Midway Congregationalists came boldly to the front, and by their patriotic energy greatly contributed to bring the colony into harmony with the other twelve, in their defensive and finally revolutionary measures.

The inhabitants of St. John's Parish, of which the Midway Congregational church was the very centre and heart, were early and decidedly committed to the cause of liberty. They had repeated meetings, appointed delegates to the provincial conventions, and exerted themselves to their utmost to bring the people into sympathy with the movement; and finally, finding it impossible to move the whole Province to patriotic action, they proceeded to act for themselves. They subscribed to the Continental Association; they sent a message to the first Congress, expressing their heartfelt sympathy in all the patriotic measures of the day; and on the 21st of March, 1775, at a full meeting of the parish—doubtless in the old meeting-house which the British afterwards burned down—Dr. Lyman Hall, the parish physician,

* *The Rise of the Republic of the U. S.* By Richard Frothingham, p. 267. See also pp. 395-398, note, 419, 528.

was unanimously chosen to represent St. John's Parish in the second Continental Congress, which was to meet in Philadelphia on the 10th of May. He was despatched at once, on horseback, to make a journey of a thousand miles, to carry their greetings, and to represent them in the Congress. He arrived safely and presented his credentials, and was admitted to that patriotic body on the third day of the session, and for a while was the only representative from Georgia.*

It was these patriotic measures which gave to St. John's Parish—of which the Midway settlement constituted “a considerable part”—the historic name of “Liberty County,” which it still retains.

The spirit which animated these sons of liberty in 1774–5 has continued to burn in the hearts of their children to the present day. In 1861 the delegates from Liberty County to the Georgia State Convention vindicated their Puritan origin

* *Holmes' Ann.*, II, 215–17, 527; *Howe's Hist. Presb. Church in S. C.*, I, 120–22, 134, 205, 268–70, 312–13; *Mr. Everett's Oration at Dorchester*, 1855; *Mr. Means in Cong. Quar.*, x, 170; *Allen's Dic.* Dr. Lyman Hall was a native of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale, and, at the time of his election to Congress, the physician of the Midway people. He was a zealous patriot, and suffered severely for it. His property was confiscated by the British, and other indignities were levelled at him, just as was the case with Rev. Mr. Allen, the Midway minister, who, when captured, was refused a parole with the officers of the brigade, and was sent off to a prison hulk with common soldiers, and there confined for months.

by voting against the suicidal secession act of that convention. But their opposition was in vain. The State joined the secessionists, and the Midway unionists were doomed to suffer all the apprehended consequences of this rash and ruinous measure.*

But the State having decided to join the Confederacy, the Midway people bowed to the will of the majority, cast in their lot with the people of the State, and fought for the independence of the South. The failure of their cause involved them in almost utter ruin. The men of wealth and position, whose families had lived for a century on the same plantation, and who were proud to trace their pedigree back to the brave old Puritans, who, more than one hundred and fifty years previous, founded that remarkable and most respectable and influential colony in the South, were reduced to absolute penury, and were compelled to begin the world anew, laboring with their own hands for their daily bread. Many of the younger men perished in battle and never returned to their ancestral homes. The old church, which had maintained the Congregational organization and usages until

* *MS. Letter of Rev. Giles Pease.* Mr. P. visited Midway in 1868, and urged the remnant of the old church to retain their Congregational organization, and offered them any assistance that they might require. But all in vain. They were too thoroughly broken in pieces, and scattered, and impoverished, and discouraged, to make the attempt, against all the surrounding influences which opposed them.

the commencement of the secession war — though for many years compelled to employ Presbyterian ministers — at the close of the war was hopelessly shattered and scattered, and in effect disbanded, so far as the white members were concerned. But there remained in the parish many colored people, once servants of the Midway Congregationalists, and not a few of them members of that church. These have proved themselves a thrifty and enterprising people, and have gradually bought up no inconsiderable part of vacated lands of the parish. Among them a Congregational church has been organized, known as the Golding's Grove, Midway, Congregational church; which in 1878 had an intelligent and efficient pastor, a membership of two hundred and thirty-six, and a Sabbath school of one hundred and seventy members. The old meeting-house still stood in substantial strength in 1874, with its capacious galleries and graceful spire, though somewhat dilapidated.*

* An intelligent correspondent of the *Hinesville Gazette*, Ga., April 13, 1874, gives a long and very interesting account of the old Midway Congregational church. He describes the old meeting-house as sixty feet by forty in size, with a commodious gallery and a pulpit of modern device. . . . Quite a graceful and lofty spire points its finger heavenward. And within a few feet to the right, the massive brick walls of the old cemetery rise to view.

An agent of the American Missionary Association, who visited Midway in the spring of 1874, writes: "I saw a congregation of nine or ten hundred in the old church, a few Sabbaths ago; and in a congregation of nearly a thousand, I did not see ten mulat-

The old Dorchester and Midway church was favored with good and able ministers from the start. The first pastor, Joseph Lord, was a native of Charlestown, Mass., and a graduate of Harvard College in 1691. At the time that the emigrating church was forming at Dorchester, he was teaching school in the town and studying theology with the pastor, Mr. Danforth. Entering into the spirit of this missionary movement, he united with the emigrants, was embodied in the new church, was chosen its pastor, and was probably ordained to office on the same day that the church was recognized — October 22, 1695.*

toes. There was piety and purity in the old church." — *MS. Letter from Rev. A. Rowe*, April 17, 1874.

The same writer says that the Blacks had already bought about six thousand acres of land around Midway, and paid for about half of it; are industrious, and will at some future time be well off. In 1876 it was said that they had succeeded in buying nearly all the land in Liberty County. The lowlands, we presume are meant. These, though rich and valuable for agricultural purposes, are unhealthy for the Whites. The old Midway people had summer residences in the pine woods around, where the land is high and the country eminently healthy; as much so, it is said, as the most famous retreats of the South. Walthourville and Flemington were two of these summer villages, to which the Midway planters and their house servants retired at the approach of the unhealthy season.

* *Holmes' Ann.*, 1, 461. The Rev. John Cotton, who went to Charleston, S. C., in 1698, speaks of having "a Mr. Lord" as a fellow-passenger from Boston. This, no doubt, was the pastor of the Dorchester church, who was returning from a visit to his New England friends. — *John Cotton's Diary*, in *Josiah Cotton's Account of the Cotton Family* in manuscript.

Mr. Lord remained with the Dorchester church over twenty years. He then returned to New England and settled at Chatham, Mass., June 15, 1720, and there died in 1748, aged about seventy-seven years.

He was succeeded, October 6, 1720, by Rev. Hugh Fisher; who, dying in 1734, after a ministry of about fourteen years, was succeeded, in March, 1734-5, by Rev. John Osgood, a native of Dorchester, S. C., and a graduate of Harvard. He proved to be a very able and accomplished pastor and preacher. Under his ministry, in about two years, the church doubled its membership from "a little over thirty" to above seventy members. He remained with the church thirty-eight years, till he died, about August, 1779.

During Mr. Fisher's pastorate there seems to have been a branch of the Dorchester church established at Beech Hill, an outlying section of the township, and the pastor officiated alternately there and at the old meeting-house.*

For about three years after Mr. Osgood's death, the church had no pastor. In 1776 the Rev. Moses Allen, who, though a Massachusetts man, was educated at the college of New Jersey, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, became the pastor of this church. He was

* *Memoirs of the Church and Society at Midway: Stevens (Hist. Ga., 1, 371-384)* devotes a chapter to the "Settlement of Liberty County." See also *Howe's Hist.*, 1, 120-22, 134 and 184.

succeeded, in 1785, by Abiel Holmes, afterwards of Cambridge, Mass., who remained pastor seven years.

In 1829 Dr. Holmes bore the following highly honorable testimony to this New England church and colony: "The planters in that settlement are distinguished for the same independent principles, and the same regard to the institutions of religion, which have distinguished the inhabitants of New England. It is worthy of particular notice, that their traits of character have been retained more than a century; for these people are descendants of that congregation which emigrated from New England and settled Dorchester, in South Carolina, in 1696." . . .

After alluding to their zeal in the cause of liberty, which subjected them to an uncommon share of sufferings and sacrifices during the Revolutionary War, and particularly to the cruel treatment of their patriotic pastor, Mr. Allen, by the British, Dr. Holmes continues: "On the prospect of peace, the inhabitants of Midway returned to their plantations, and in 1785 the present writer was ordained their minister. They had preserved some valuable books of their society library, and their attention to intellectual and religious improvement, their exemplary attendance upon public worship, their unity, peace, and concord, would have borne a favorable comparison with any church in New England." *

* *Holmes' Ann.*, 11, Appendix, note viii, p. 527. See also, p.

Mr. Holmes was succeeded by Cyrus Gildersleeve, in 1791; who, after a ministry of nineteen years, removed to New Jersey, and was succeeded by the Rev. Murdock Murphy. Robert Quarterman followed Mr. Murphy, in 1823, and was pastor of the church in 1845.

The Dorchester and Midway church were ever considerate and kindly in the treatment of their colored servants. They held them, it is true, as bondmen and bondwomen; but they were ever mindful of their moral and religious interests. Special accommodations were provided for them in the old meeting-house, and an addition even was made to the house for their special use. We have, also, repeated mention of extra efforts for their spiritual improvement. One of these seasons was during Dr. Holmes' ministry, 1785-1791. Evening prayer-meetings were established on the plantations, and colored men of tried piety and prudence were appointed watchmen or superintendents, while others were authorized to preach. Thus every encouragement was afforded them to

280, and vol. 1, 461; *Allen's Dic.*, articles Fisher, Osgood and Allen; *Am. Quar. Reg.*, xiv, 68-71.

Mr. Holmes was ordained at the request of the Midway church, in the chapel of Yale College, September 15, 1785, President Stiles making the consecrating and ordaining prayer. Mr. Holmes had been preaching at Midway for about a year previous. Among the old pamphlets in the *Mass. Hist. Soc's Library* there is an account of the meeting of the ordaining council on the 13th, and the ordination on the 15th of September, 1785.

maintain religious meetings in different neighborhoods of the parish during the week, and arrangements were made for Sunday services also.

Some of these colored preachers were men of very unusual gifts and power, whose memory was lovingly cherished for half a century by both Blacks and Whites. The Rev. Charles C. Jones, who labored with apostolic zeal for the colored people of the South, chiefly in Liberty County, bears the most unqualified testimony to the excellence of several of these lay preachers. He speaks particularly of Dembo, a native African, a member of the Midway Congregational church. In him, he says, "there was a depth of humility and conviction of sinfulness and inability to all good, an assurance of faith, a sense of the Divine presence, a nearness of access to God, a spiritual perception of, and a union with Christ as the life and righteousness of the soul; a flowing out of love, a being swallowed up in God — which I never heard before nor since. And often, when he closed his prayers, I felt as weak as water, and that I ought not to open my mouth in public; and indeed, knew not what it was to pray." *

The successor of Dr. Holmes, the Rev. Mr. Gildersleeve, was laboriously attentive to his colored parishioners. In addition to the ordinary Sunday services, in connection with the Whites, he had

* *Tenth Ann. Report of the Ass. for Religious Instruction of the Negroes*, p. 32, etc.

special private and social meetings for the Blacks, and engaged in a course of systematic religious instruction of them, at his own house; where large numbers gathered, many of whom were greatly benefited. It was probably in these meetings that such men as Dembo were taught and trained. In 1796 the Midway church had forty-nine colored members.

In the meantime, a branch church had been formed in Sunbury, and a meeting-house built for the accommodation of the people in that eastern section of the district. And in 1806, another small house of worship was built, in the southerly part of the district, between the north and south Newport rivers, for the accommodation of the people in that neighborhood.

Among other measures adopted by this New England colony to improve and elevate its own character, was one quite suggestive of its origin, namely: the formation of a "Library Society." It was first called the "Dorchester and Beech Hill Alphabet Society." Afterwards it took the more dignified and appropriate name of the "Midway and Newport Library Society." The regular meetings of this society were kept up until 1859, and contributed, no doubt, materially towards making the people of Midway District what they confessedly were — among the most intelligent and exemplary people in Georgia.

Thus for fifty-four years this Puritan church stood as a beacon light to this whole district; for

it was the only church in the county until 1806, when a Baptist church was instituted at Sunbury, four miles from Midway meeting-house.

To all the other means of mental and moral improvement provided by this church, for themselves and their colored servants, they added, as early as 1816, Sabbath schools. And it was in this county, of all others in Georgia, that the "Association for the Religious Instruction of the Negroes" — the first, we believe, that was ever formed at the South — was organized in 1831. This association for many years — fourteen at least — continued its benevolent, useful labors among the colored people of the county. In addition to other labors of love, it had formed, in 1840, no less than seven Sabbath schools in the district; which schools contained at that time four hundred and fifty-five scholars and thirty-one teachers. As a result of the various evangelical labors of this association, there were extensive and continuous revivals of religion among the colored people of the district between 1838–1840; and nearly three hundred of them were admitted to the churches, as the fruits of this good work. And following this revival among the Blacks, there was in 1841 "a remarkable outpouring of the spirit of God upon the white congregations of Midway and Newport." The whole number of colored people in this district in 1845 was over four thousand.*

* *Tenth Rep. Ass. for Relig. Instr. of Negroes in Liberty Co., Ga.*

The warm heart and the right hand of this Association for the Instruction of the Negroes was the Rev. Charles C. Jones, a native of Liberty County, a Christian gentleman, a fine scholar and a devoted minister; a graduate of Princeton, and a resident student of Andover Theological Seminary. He refused the most flattering offers of settlement as a parish minister and as a professor in a theological seminary, because his heart was fixed on the humble but honorable and blessed work of this association—the elevation and salvation of the colored people of the South. And to this work he devoted many of the best years of his life, for the most part, it is believed, without any pecuniary compensation whatever.

This good man, in describing “the peculiar advantages presented in this county for the prosecution of the undertaking” of the association, said: “In the first place, the whole white population of that district in the county, the Fifteenth, the seat of our operations, has been noted for its general piety and good order, and readiness to sustain any measures designed for the public good, and promising reasonable success. Second, the feelings of owners have generally been kind and liberal towards their people, and many privileges have been allowed the Negroes. . . Their discipline has been mild. . . Third, the country has been considered the home of the inhabitants.” * . .

* *Tenth Ann. Report of the Associations in Liberty County, Ga.,*

Lest it should be suspected that our estimate of these Dorchester and Midway Congregationalists is the fruit of sectional and denominational partiality, rather than the strict truth, we will quote the disinterested opinion of another Southern gentleman, a native Georgian, a resident of the adjoining county of McIntosh, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, and one who fought in the Confederate army. Since the war, and the consequent dispersion of the Midway church, he has borne this noble and hearty testimony to their character: "The Congregational church of Midway is the most remarkable organization in the State of Georgia. It has done more for the cause of education and religion than any church of any other denomination, ten times over. I hope it will

p. 13. The writer of this Report, Mr. Jones, was my fellow-student at Andover Theological Seminary in 1829, and is well remembered as a fine specimen of a Southern Christian gentleman. He was warm-hearted and impulsive, full of life and fire, an earnest scholar, and a zealous Christian. Born and educated at the South, a man of wealth and a slave-holder, he yet was a devoted friend of the colored race, for whom he cheerfully spent his fortune and gave his personal services for successive years. No man could express a stronger sense of the evils of the slave system than did Mr. Jones. But he claimed the exclusive right to condemn it and denounce judgment upon its upholders. If a Northerner undertook to meddle with the subject in his presence, he was very sure to kindle a fierce flame of opposition in the Southron's heart. He seemed to feel towards the slave system as Dr. Johnson did towards the actor, Garrick. When in the mood of it, the Doctor would abuse the great actor roundly; but he was never in the mood to allow another to speak disparagingly of Garrick.

not be suffered to die, because of its prominent connection with historic events and interests of the State in the past."

This was the voluntary testimony to a Congregational missionary who visited Midway and vicinity soon after the close of the war. And though very laudatory, it is fully justified by facts; for "this church has educated more men for the gospel ministry (considerably above one hundred in number) than all the Presbyterian churches in Georgia. It has educated above seven hundred teachers, and a proportional number for the honored professions of law, and medicine, etc., etc."*

At a religious meeting held by this same missionary in the neighborhood of the old Midway church, he met an intelligent Christian gentleman, an extensive land-owner in the county, and once a rich and prosperous planter, an officer in the Confederate army — impoverished and ruined by the war — who said to him: "I did not know until after the meeting last evening that you were a Congregationalist. We are a Congregational church here. This is a branch house for religious service. We had our centennial in 1851. We have existed here by ourselves more than a hundred years. But we are now scattered and peeled and desolate, and some of our members must starve, if help

* *Am. Miss. Mag.* for May and July, 1868, articles relating to this old church, from the pen of the Rev. Giles Pease, missionary of the Am. Miss. Association.

cannot be afforded them soon. . . We have existed alone here among ourselves; have had no connection with any other churches in the State; our marriages, even, have been almost wholly among our own membership. We formerly were wealthy, sustained a branch colored church of five hundred members, and supported a minister for their special instruction. We have educated more than a hundred for the gospel ministry; for physicians and lawyers a very large number, above any other portion of the State. Now we are scattered and weakened and desolate." *

But though by the war the white inhabitants of Midway were scattered, and the old Congregational church was broken up, there yet remained at the close of the war, around the plantations, several hundred of the colored members of the old congregation. These people, accustomed as they had been to worship together in better days—a minister being specially provided for their care and instruction—very naturally came together as an independent Christian church, and established and maintained the ordinances and institutions of religion among themselves.

And they were abundantly qualified for such a course of procedure. For all who know them testify that they are altogether a superior class of Negroes, and quite above the average standard of their race in the State. And all this is readily

* *Am. Missionary for 1868*, pp. 108-10.

accounted for by considering the peculiar, exceptional relation which subsisted for generations between the Whites and the Blacks in the Midway District; for we are told that "for miles around Midway the white and the colored people belonged to the Congregational church or society, and the masters were held to a strict account for the treatment of their servants; maltreatment of them being a disciplinary offence in a church member. Indeed, there was so much genuine Christian fellowship and brotherly love between master and servant, that it seemed hardly proper to say that the colored people were slaves. They were rather servants and brethren beloved. It is scarcely necessary to add, that these servants were, and their posterity to this day are — Blacks. Amalgamation was not tolerated by the Puritans of Midway."

In its palmy days, the Midway Congregational church was the metropolitan church of the whole neighborhood; and around it were gathered, once in three months, the little congregations which ordinarily worshipped by themselves in remote parts of the district. Here, four times in a year, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, new members were admitted to church fellowship, and they and their children were baptized. It was a great and joyous occasion, like that which the tribes of Israel experienced when they went up to Jerusalem to their great national festival.*

* I am indebted to the Rev. A. Rowe, agent of the Am. Miss.

Such are the essential facts pertaining to the history of the ancient Congregational church of Midway, Ga., organized in 1695, and disbanded about 1865, after an honorable existence of one hundred and seventy years.

It is sad to reflect that a church with such a history should have yielded to any solicitations, or have been induced by any difficulties and discouragements, to blot out its name from the page of church history. And is it too much to hope that the scattered remnants of this venerable church, or their children, may yet see fulfilled, in their case, the prophecy of Isaiah: "Thou, O Lord, shalt arise and have mercy upon Zion: for the time to favor her, yea, the set time is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favor the dust thereof."

Having now traced the Midway Congregational church from its organization to its dissolution, it may be satisfactory to retrace our steps a little, and see what became of the original settlement in Dorchester, S. C.

We have seen that the emigration thence was slowly and reluctantly made; and that it was several years after the decision to remove to Georgia was reached, that the major part of the Dorchester

Association in Savannah, Ga., for most of the statements in the above paragraphs. — *MS. Letter* dated Savannah, Ga., Apr. 24, 1874. See also the *Am. Missionary* for May and July, 1868.

Society removed to Midway. And even then, when the great body of the church, with the pastor, had emigrated, in 1752, a considerable number clung to the old homestead at Dorchester; enough to maintain religious worship and a Congregational organization for more than one hundred years after 1752.

In 1760, eight years after the pastor and the body of the church had settled at Midway, the Dorchester people had for their minister the Rev. Andrew Bennet, a most excellent man and minister.*

Dorchester suffered severely during the Revolutionary war, as did Midway, and for the same reasons probably. The district was occupied alternately by the American troops and by the British. At the time of General Green's successful advance into South Carolina, in 1781, the British troops were in possession, and the old Congregational meeting-house was used by them as a store-house; and when compelled to evacuate Dorchester, the British soldiers set fire to the old meeting-house. The stores and the wood work of the house were burned; but the brick walls were sufficiently substantial to withstand the fire, and were, indeed, very little injured. In the course of a few years the society rallied around the old house and rebuilt,

* *Howe's Hist. Presb. Ch'h, S. C.*, 1, 302. The Rev. Mr. Hutson, pastor of the Congregational church in Charleston, exchanged with Mr. Bennet twice during the year 1760.

or rather restored it to its original completeness, and at once re-occupied it; funds having been collected for repairing the house, and lots of land having been set apart for the support of the ministry. And on the 19th of July, 1793, the restored meeting-house was dedicated anew to the worship of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost — the sermon dedicatory being preached by the Rev. Dr. Hollingshead. The church then sat down to the Lord's Supper together, for the first time since their house was burned. In December, 1793, a charter was obtained of the Legislature for "The United Independent Congregational church of Dorchester and Beech Hill." *

Unfortunately, the Dorchester church could not obtain a permanent pastor and preacher for several years, but were obliged to depend on the occasional services of neighboring ministers, or on licentiates of the South Carolina Presbytery. It still, however, maintained its Independent Congregational organization; and in May, 1799, succeeded in getting a pastor, James Adams, a licentiate of Orange Presbytery, who proved to be a faithful and successful minister. In 1825–1826, the Rev.

* Dorchester and Beech Hill constituted one parish; but each had a meeting-house — being some miles apart — and the parish was so nearly divided equally that the minister preached alternately in the two meeting-houses. While that at Dorchester was a substantial brick house, that at Beech Hill was of wood. They were both, however, built on spacious lots of land — ninety-five acres being attached to each as glebe land. — *Howe*, 1, 270.

Edward Palmer, brother of Dr. R. M. Palmer, was the pastor of this old church.

On the 22d of February, 1846, the church celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, dating back to the time it was first organized in Dorchester, Mass., in 1695. And the pastor, the Rev. George Sheldon, preached an appropriate historical sermon on the occasion, in the old meeting-house, the walls of which had then been standing since the year 1700.* The Rev. J. A. Stratton probably succeeded Mr. Sheldon as pastor of this church.

The Dorchester and Beech Hill church continued to maintain its existence as a Congregational church down to the breaking out of the civil war in 1861. During the four sad and ruinous years of the war the settlement suffered severely, and at the close had scarcely even a name to live. The Rev. C. S. Vedder was their last pastor, and from him I learned, in 1874, that though the Dorchester church edifice was still standing, it had been unoccupied by the Whites since the war,† and that

* *Howe's Hist. P. C.*, 1, 463, 566-69; *MS. Letter* from Rev. Wm. H. Adams, Charleston, S. C. Mr. Sheldon's sermon was published at the time by Burgess & James, Charleston, S. C. *MS. Letter* from Rev. Dr. H. B. Hooker, Boston.

† *MS. Letter* from Rev. C. S. Vedder, pastor of the Huguenot church, Charleston, S. C., dated April 18, 1874. I understand Dr. Vedder's remark about the depopulation of the country around Dorchester to refer mainly to the white population, for there must be a considerable body of colored people in that district. "Beech Hill" is now called "Pleasant Grove."

there was little likelihood that it would ever be used again, as the country around was practically depopulated.

OTHER CONG'L MOVEMENTS SOUTHWARD.

Having related somewhat in detail the earliest movements of New England Congregationalists to Charleston and Dorchester, S. C., and to Midway, Ga.—and they are important and interesting enough to demand careful consideration—we must notice briefly several other attempts to establish New England institutions on Southern soil during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Some time in 1695, a company of fifty-two emigrants from New England were shipwrecked on Cape Fear. Whither they were bound is not known, but probably to some spot along the

An intelligent writer in *Harper's New Monthly* for November, 1875, describing a recent visit to this historic spot, after sketching the early history of this thrifty and populous old Puritan town, says: "Now there is nothing left, not a trace of man's habitation; one or two recently plowed fields and a second growth of wild forest cover the spot. . . Their old church . . . still stands in thick woods [we believe that it was originally built in the woods] with scarcely a track leading to its door. It was an Independent Congregational church, and is called in the neighborhood 'the Old White.' It celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary in 1846; but no [regular or stated] services have been held there for many years, save those of the wind, the rain, and the birds." Services were held in the old house during the civil war—1861–1865 (see *ante* p. 503), but probably not since, by white people; for they were scattered, and the church was broken up and the town depopulated by the war.

southern coast where they might establish a Christian colony; for they were evidently religious people in pursuit of a new home. Escaping from the sea, they found themselves surrounded by savages, and fearing the same barbarous usage which other white men had experienced in that vicinity, they entrenched themselves and prepared for a resolute defence. The Indians, however—influenced, probably, by Governor Archdale's admonition to them in view of previous barbarities towards shipwrecked mariners—offered this company no harm, but rather kindness, furnishing them with food, and directing some of them to Charleston, about a hundred miles distant, where they might find substantial help.

As soon as Governor Archdale was apprised of the forlorn condition of these shipwrecked immigrants, he despatched a vessel to Cape Fear and took them all, but one little child who died on the way, safely to "Wando Neck," on the north side of Cooper river, about fourteen miles from Charleston, to a place known as "Wappetaw." There he allotted them lands, and they made a settlement, which was afterwards known as "Christ Church Parish." And there in due time they organized a Congregational church.*

* Governor Archdale, learning the Indians near Cape Fear were desirous of coming under the English government, admitted them to that privilege some time in 1695. Having heard of their barbarity to men cast away on their coast, he told them what he had heard, and that he expected a civil usage from them to

In October, 1696, this New England colony seems to have received an important addition of "a considerable number of householders" from Ipswich and Salem Village, Massachusetts, and gradually became a strong and rich society. The Rev. William Tennent, in an address made in 1770 or 1771, speaks of the generosity of the Wappetaw people, in giving a large sum of money to the Independent church in Charleston, about 1729-1731, to aid in repairing their meeting-house, which cost the Charleston church between eight and nine thousand pounds.

The first pastor of the Wappetaw church was the Rev. William Porter. He remained with them to the time of his death in 1733. His immediate successor in the pastorate was the Rev. Job Parker, who lived but a short time, dying in October, 1735. He was followed in this pastorate by the Rev. J. J. Zubley, whose ministry extended from 1748 to 1759; he was succeeded by the Rev. John Martin, who died in 1774; he, by the Rev. Moses Allen, whose ministry continued only from 1775 to 1777;

such shipwrecked persons in future. It was about six weeks after this, that the Massachusetts emigrants were cast away on the Cape, and the unexpected kindness of the Indians towards them is thus explained. — See *Holmes*, 1, 455; also p. 317 and note 5; *Felt, Ecc. Hist.*, 1, 307; *Oldmixon*, 1, 343-45.

Dr. Hollingshead, in an address to this church in 1809, told them that their fathers made provision for public worship there, "before this wilderness was subdued, or the ruthless savage had retired." — *Dr. Howe's MS. Letter.*

and he, by the Rev. Mr. Atkins, who, after a ministry of two years, was murdered in his parsonage at the time Charleston was evacuated by the British and Loyalists, December 14, 1782. At the same time, the old Wappetaw meeting-house was burned, and with it all the old records and papers of the church, depriving us of much valuable and interesting historical material.

The Rev. Dr. McCalla was called to the pastorate of this church in 1788, and continued to serve it until his death, in 1809. He left behind him the reputation of a very learned and eloquent divine. The old Wappetaw church was still alive in 1841, though destitute of a pastor and greatly reduced in membership. The Rev. Dr. Palmer preached to them at that time during the winter months.*

CONG'L CHURCH AT ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

In 1743 — and we know not how much earlier — there was a church of the Congregational order

* Oldmixon tells us that in Governor Archdale's time (1695-1701) "several families removed from New England to settle in Carolina, and seated themselves on the river Sewee, in North Carolina." Sewee Bay is an inland continuation of Bull's Bay, about twenty miles northeast from Charleston, S. C. Of this settlement I find no other notice, unless it be by a different name.

Most of the statements in the text relating to the Wappetaw Congregational church are made on the authority of Dr. George Howe's admirable *Hist. of the Presb. Church in S. C.*, vol. 1. For some of them, however, I am much indebted to the Rev. Reuben Post and Rev. William Dana, both of Charleston, S. C., at the date of their communications, September, 1841.

at St. Bartholomew, Indian Land, known as the "Stoney Creek Independent Presbyterian Church." At that date the Rev. William Hutson, afterwards pastor of the Independent church in Charleston, was called to the pastorate of St. Bartholomew church. Mr. Hutson was a most excellent and successful minister, of sound religious sentiments and sterling good sense. He is supposed to have drawn up the Confession of Faith which was adopted by this church and has come down to us. It recognizes the Westminster Confession as the doctrinal basis of the church, while it asserts the absolute independency of the church: "No one church hath any priority or superintendency above or over another. . . Every church ought to be organical . . . A true church is not national or parochial." *

Mr. Hutson remained with this church until 1756, when he moved to Charleston and became associate pastor with the Rev. James Edmonds, of the Independent Congregational church in that city. The Stoney Creek church was in a flourishing condition during Mr. Hutson's ministry.

The Rev. Archibald Simpson, a member of the Presbytery of Charleston, was called to the vacant pastorate at Stoney Creek, July 12-16, 1756,

* Dr. Howe says of this confession, etc.: "These documents probably proceeded from the pen of Mr. Hutson; and if so, though we differ in principle from the form of government, they do him great credit as a man of ability and judgment."

though, as Mr. Hutson said of the people of Indian Land, "most of them are Independents." Mr. Simpson remained with the church until June, 1772 — sixteen years, when he sailed for Scotland. He seems to have been a man of lovely Christian spirit and a most laborious, eloquent, popular and useful minister. His successor was the Rev. James Gourlay, another Scotch Presbyterian, who began his labors in 1774–75, and probably continued with the church, as circumstances permitted, until his death, January 24, 1803.

At Camden, one of the largest inland cities of South Carolina, there was a Congregational minister — whether or not a church does not appear — as early as about 1789. Thomas Adams, "a young gentleman of the Congregational church," son of Rev. Amos Adams of Roxbury, Massachusetts, was then ordained in Boston, as a minister for Camden, where he resided till his death, August 16, 1797; preaching and having charge of the Orphan's Society academy.*

CONGREGATIONALISTS AT JAMES ISLAND, BEAUFORT AND WAYNESBOROUGH.

Besides these Congregational or Independent

* Mr. Simpson seems to have spent most of his active life in South Carolina and Georgia, and from about 1748 to 1784, kept a diary of events and personal movements, which is still extant in ten volumes, and is a thesaurus of interesting data respecting the religious affairs of Georgia and South Carolina. — *Howe*, 270–77, 497; *Ramsay's Hist. S. C.*, II, 597, appendix; *Allen's Dic.*

churches, there were similar ecclesiastical bodies, early in this century, at James Island, just below Charleston, of which the Rev. Mr. Price was at one time pastor. There was another at Beaufort, S. C., a place described by Morse, in 1797, as "a little, pleasant town of about sixty houses, and two hundred inhabitants, who are distinguished for their hospitality and politeness." The Rev. Benjamin M. Palmer—afterwards pastor of the Independent church in Charleston—was pastor of the Beaufort church for about ten years prior to 1814. There was also a church of the same order, early in this century, at Waynesboro', Georgia, about thirty miles south of Augusta. As lately as 1809 these churches were supplied by educated and able ministers, and maintained their Independent organizations.*

CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF S. C.

In 1802 there were Congregational ministers and churches enough in the State to constitute a "Congregational Association of South Carolina," and there was life and enterprise enough in this association to prompt to the formation, in February,

* My authorities for the above statements are *Ramsay's Hist. S. C.*, 11, 29-30, and appendix, 589-90; *Ramsay's Hist. Indep. Ch'h of Charleston, S. C.*, p. 28; *MS. Letter of Dr. George Howe*, dated Columbia, S. C., April 20, 1874; *Morse's Am. Gaz.*, articles Bartholomew, Beaufort, and Waynesboro. By the census of 1790, St. Bartholomew parish held a population of twelve thousand six hundred and six; of which only two thousand one hundred and thirty-eight were Whites.

1802, of "The Congregational Society of the State of South Carolina, for Promoting the Interests of Religion," by "distributing Bibles and other books of practical piety amongst the poor, and by sending missionaries to such parts of our country, either in the State of South Carolina or elsewhere, as are destitute of ministers and of the means of supporting them." *

This Congregational Association maintained its existence and independence until about 1823, when its members were induced to unite with some good brethren, set off for the purpose from the Presbytery of Harmony—an attractive name—and form the "Charleston Union Presbytery." The result was, as in scores of like transactions, Congregationalism was swallowed up by Presbyterianism.†

As lately as 1825 there must have been several small Congregational churches, other than those already named, in South Carolina. The Rev. Dr. Henry B. Hooker, late Secretary of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society, says: "In the autumn of 1825, the South Carolina Home Missionary Society sent to the Theological Seminary

* Articles 1 and 2 of "Constitution and Rules of the Congregational Society of S. C.," etc., in *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine*, II, 149. In the preamble to this constitution it is expressly said: "It having been proposed by the *Congregational Association of South Carolina* to form amongst the piously disposed in the several congregations under their care a society for promoting the interests of religion, we," etc., etc.

† MS. Letter from Dr. Dana.

at Andover, Mass., for five missionaries to labor in that State. I was one of the five who went in response to this application. My field of labor was a region about forty miles from Charleston, half way to Savannah, Ga., on or near the Edisto river. I had two churches under my charge: Jacksonboro' on the Edisto, anciently the State capital, and Walterboro', nearly twenty miles distant, a summer retreat for the planters of the neighboring lowlands. I preached in these places on alternate Sabbaths for the larger part of a year. These churches were Congregational in government. In Jacksonboro', the morning Sabbath service was attended by the Whites and Blacks together—twenty or thirty perhaps Whites, and between two and three hundred Blacks. After twenty minutes' interval, I preached again to the colored people alone. At Walterboro' the congregation was almost entirely of white people.

“The Rev. Dr. Benjamin M. Palmer was at that time pastor of the Independent church in the city of Charleston, and his brother, the Rev. Edward Palmer, was the pastor of the Congregational church at Dorchester, S. C., fifteen or twenty miles from Charleston. He was the father of the Rev. Mr. Palmer of New Orleans, distinguished for his talents and eloquence and devotion to the South during the civil war.”*

* The substance of a manuscript letter from Dr. Hooker to the author, dated May 5, 1874.

Beside the distinctively Congregational churches which have now been noticed in Charleston and vicinity, there were several churches which were known as "Independent Presbyterian" churches. They had no connection with any Presbytery or Synod, and maintained the general characteristics of Congregational bodies. There was one of this description at Pocotalico or Pocotaligo, in the Old Beaufort District, of which the Rev. Edward Palmer was pastor about 1840. And there were others, whose memorials have perished with the men who founded them.*

From this sketch of Congregationalism in South Carolina and Georgia it appears that a considerable number of churches of this order have been planted on that Southern soil, several of which have greatly flourished in numbers, wealth, influence, respectability and piety. But of all these churches not more than a single one of the original number now survives. The old "Independent or Congregational (Circular) Church of Charleston, S. C.," has lived and prospered until quite recently, and it is believed still retains its ecclesiastical organization; but it has not appeared in our list of churches for several years. In 1860 it reported a membership of four hundred and fifty souls. But since the war it has

* *MS. Letters* from the Rev. Dr. Dana and the Rev. Dr. Post of Charleston.

not been reported among our churches, and it has not been in a very flourishing condition. The latest report (1876) gave it one hundred and sixty communicants, about one-third of whom were colored persons. But most of the colored members drew off from the old church after the war and formed a church of their own, which in 1878 reported between two and three hundred members.

The colored remnants of the old Midway Congregational church, to the number of one hundred and sixty, also organized Congregationally after the war, and in 1878 were able to report a membership of two hundred and thirty-six souls.

Both of these churches are respectable and prosperous bodies, and it is the honorable and voluntary testimony of the white people who have knowledge of them, that there are none of their class more reliable and respectable in all the South than the colored members of these Congregational churches.

Besides these, there are eleven other small colored Congregational churches in South Carolina and Georgia — chiefly in the latter State; all of which have been organized since 1866, and which contain an aggregate of about five hundred members, making, with the Charleston and Midway churches, a total of nine hundred and seventy-one colored Congregationalists in these two States.*

* *Rep. Am. Miss. Ass. and Cong'l Year Book* for 1879; *Cong'l Quarterly* for January, 1800.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN NOVA SCOTIA, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW-
FOUNDLAND, CAPE BRETON AND CANADA, 1759-1875.

To KEEP upon the track of our emigrating Congregationalists, we must now follow them as far northward as we have done southward.

The vast territory east and north of New England early attracted the attention of both French and English colonizationists. The entire coast, with the adjacent islands from the Kennebec to the St. Lawrence, was claimed by the English; because first discovered by the Cabots, in 1497, then taken formal possession of by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583, and again, by the Popham colony on the Sagadahock, in 1607. Canada, or New France, was also claimed by the English, on the ground of Sir David Kirk's or Kertk's conquest of Quebec in 1629.*

But all this boundless territory was foolishly surrendered in 1632 to Louis XIII of France, by Charles I of England, in the treaty of St. Germain. This surrender was not simply foolish, but

* "The English writers commonly write the name *Kirk*. I write it as he wrote it himself, *Kertk*." — *Holmes' Annals*, I, 199, note 3. David Kertk was a native of Dieppe, France. He was a Protestant and a Calvinist, and a refugee in England from Popish persecution in France.

to the last degree mischievous, in that it drew after it consequences most disastrous to England and America; for not Canada alone, but Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were immediately taken possession of by France, and vigorous efforts were made to establish and extend the French power over that whole territory; and, worst of all, to draw the Indians of that vast wilderness into open hostility towards the English. From that unfortunate day onward for a hundred and thirty years, there was all but continuous war between the two nations on this territory, which ceased only with the complete conquest of the country by the British, in 1760, and the cession of Canada to England by the treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763.*

The sketch of Maine history given in a preceding chapter has suggested to the reader the very great interest early felt and manifested by the English in the settlement of the eastern shores of America. And during the first half of the eighteenth century, the repeated military movements of the British government against the French in Canada and Nova Scotia deeply interested our New England people in that country, they always

* A summary but very satisfactory account of the first discoveries and the earliest history of Newfoundland may be found in *Newfoundland in 1842*. By Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, Knt.; in two vols., 12mo, Lond., 1842. See also *Haliburton's Historical and Statistical Account of N. S.*, vol. 1, partic. chaps. i, ii.

bearing an important and honorable part in every expedition.*

Nova Scotia was the first land on the continent of America discovered by John Cabot, in 1497. The French, however, were the first occupants of the country, which they called *Acadie*. Settlements were attempted as early as about 1518, but with little success. Towards the close of the century and early in the following century several considerable settlements were effected. In 1621 the country was given by James I to Sir William Alexander, first earl of Stirling, Scotland, who made an abortive attempt to settle it with Scotch and Irish. It was for many years a battle ground for the French and English, and repeatedly changed hands. By the treaty of Aix La Chapelle, October, 1748, it was ceded to England, and in the year following it received a large body of adventurers, including many officers and soldiers and sailors of the British navy and army, discharged by the peace which followed the war with Spain and France; begun in October, 1739, with Spain, and with France in March, 1744, and closed by the peace of Aix La Chapelle.

These adventurers first landed at Chebucto Bay, on the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia, and settled and fortified the town of Halifax, and named the country Nova Scotia.

* See *Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. Bay*, vol. III, chap. 1.

About ten years after this settlement, the English government renewed their efforts to procure settlers for Nova Scotia, but were dissuaded from repeating the experiment of sending discharged soldiers and sailors; Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia assuring the government that from their profession, soldiers and sailors were the least fitted of all living men to establish a new colony.*

A proclamation was then sent to New England and elsewhere, inviting settlers of a suitable class to emigrate to Nova Scotia. It was proposed that the settlements should be made by townships, twelve miles square and containing about one hundred thousand acres each. One hundred acres were offered to every actual settler, and fifty acres to each member of his family, on condition that the land should be actually cultivated within a reasonable time. These offers, as had all similar

* Very liberal offers were made by the British government to all actual settlers. Every soldier or sailor had fifty acres of land granted in fee simple, and ten additional acres for each member of his family, free of quit rents and taxes for ten years. Every officer under the rank of ensign in the land service, and of lieutenant in the sea service, received eighty acres, and fifteen additional for each member of his family. Ensigns had two hundred acres, lieutenants three hundred, captains four hundred, and every officer above that rank, six hundred acres, and thirty additional for each member of his family. In the Halifax company there were two majors, six captains, nineteen lieutenants of the army and three of the navy, and twenty-three midshipmen, and fifteen surgeons; and common soldiers and sailors and others enough to make up two thousand five hundred and seventy-six souls. — *Campbell's Nova Scotia*, 90 —.

ones, attracted the attention of New England people, and their agents visited the Province in 1759, selected townships and made arrangements for different parties to move into them. And soon, an extensive emigration began to flow into Nova Scotia. Six vessels, with two hundred settlers, went from Boston, and four schooners, with a hundred emigrants, from Rhode Island. New London, Conn., and Plymouth furnished two hundred and eighty emigrants; and three hundred arrived about the same time from Ireland.* So numerous, indeed, were the immigrants, and so active and enterprising were they in their movements, that by December, 1760, the governor of the Province could report to the Lords of Trade in England, that he found the townships of Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth so well established that everything bore a hopeful appearance. Also, that many of the inhabitants were rich or in good circumstances—about one hundred of them having transported themselves and their effects at their own expense—and were very well able to provide

* Among the conditions secured by the New England Puritans one was, that civil and religious liberty should be guaranteed to them. And in making a survey of the lands granted to them by the government, an order was given to reserve four lots in a township for public uses—one as a glebe for the Church of England, one for the dissenting Protestant church, one for a school, and one for the first settled minister.

Dr. Stiles estimated the New England emigration to Nova Scotia, in 1761, at five hundred and eighty persons.—In *Holmes' Ann.*, II, 109, note 2.

for their own support; that in the township of Liverpool they were already employed in building three vessels for the fishery, and had sixteen sail of fishing schooners; and though several of them came late in the season, the fishermen had caught near five hundred quintals of fish. Of the townships of Annapolis and Granville, the governor says that about thirty proprietors were settled in each; but as they came late in the year, they did not bring their families, but were preparing against their arrival in the spring. Of Chester and Dublin, two more of the townships early settled by New Englanders, the governor says that but few proprietors had arrived; but that persons of considerable substance were engaged in the undertakings, who were making preparations to enter upon their lands as early the following year as the season would permit.

This report, made in December, 1760, will give the reader some idea of the number and importance of the emigrations from New England to Nova Scotia, even before the treaty of peace with France had been signed in 1763, giving this country finally to England.

The next considerable emigration of New Englanders to Nova Scotia was at the beginning of the Revolutionary War; when the American loyalists by thousands fled from the enmity of the American revolutionists. In September, 1783, the governor estimated the number of American royalists

who had arrived in Nova Scotia within a few months at about thirteen thousand! But these people were to a great extent a burden rather than an acquisition to the Province. They were not generally the hardy, enterprising men of the early emigration, and few of them could carry with them any considerable amount of property.*

After taking this general view of the history of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—which were one until 1784—we will retrace our steps and gather up the earliest history of those towns in which New England institutions were planted during the period under review.

Among the very first New England settlements in Nova Scotia was that at Chester, near the head of the noble bay of Mahone, forty miles or more west of Halifax. This settlement was begun in 1759, by thirty or forty families, or nearly one hundred and fifty persons, from Casco Bay, Maine; Concord, Pembroke and Piscataqua, New Hampshire, and Boston, Mass.; nearly all of whom were Congregationalists. The Rev. John Seacombe or Seecomb was their first minister. He was born at Medford, Mass., about 1708, graduated at Cambridge, 1728, was pastor of the Congregational church at Harvard, Mass., from 1733 to 1757, and on the 30th of July, 1759, sailed from Boston, to become the minister of the new settlement

* *Campbell, ut sup.*; *Haliburton*, II, 128, 141.

at Chester, N. S. He arrived on the 4th of August, and entered immediately on his ministerial work there; which he continued for about thirty-three years, or to the time of his death, in January, 1793.

The American Revolution broke in upon this settlement disastrously, as it did upon other New England settlements in Nova Scotia. Many of the people, sympathizing with the Americans, returned to the States, to aid in the great struggle. Mr. Seccombe, however, remained and continued his labors among the people during the war, and until old age and growing infirmities compelled him to seek an assistant. It was then—soon after the Revolution—very difficult to get a minister from New England or from Old England; and so the good man induced his people to invite the Rev. Joseph Dimmock, an open communionist Baptist of Nova Scotia, to become his assistant and successor. This they did, and thus made a beginning of their own end as a Congregationalist church. In 1788 the church adopted the following article of faith and practice: "We believe baptism to be a Divine institution. Yet, as there are different opinions as to the subjects and outward administration of the ordinance, we give free liberty to every member to practise according to the dictates of their consciences, as they profess to be directed by the word of God."

Mr. Dimmock became sole pastor in 1793, and by 1809 had effected what Benedict calls "a partial

reformation" of the church; and in 1811 "the reformation was completed;" that is, this ancient Congregational church was made over to the Baptist Association of Nova Scotia.*

Cornwallis (now called Upper Canard), Horton, and Falmouth, at the northeastern extremity of the Bay of Fundy, were settled at or about the same time with Chester, 1760, chiefly by emigrants from Connecticut. This region was an ancient Acadian settlement, and was well known to our Provincial troops, some of whom were stationed at Horton for a considerable time.

On the invitation of Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia, in 1759, two hundred Connecticut people, most of them "New Lights," removed to this neighborhood and began settlements in 1760. These good, over-zealous people were then in such bad repute among the semi-Presbyterians of Connecticut, and had been so hardly used by the General Court and the ecclesiastical courts of that colony, that they were very glad to put a long road between themselves and the "Standing Order" of Connecticut.†

* *Benedict's General History of the Baptist Denomination*, p. 525, ed. of 1848; *Woodrow's Sketch of Chester, N. S.*, in *Canadian Independent*, vol. xvi, pp. 375-6; *Haliburton's Nova Scotia*, II, 128; *Allen's Biog. Dict.*, art. Seccombe; *Farmer's Register*, *Ib.*

† *Benedict's Hist. Baptist Denom.*, chap. x, section 1, and p. 522, New York, 1848; *Haliburton*, II, 115-23. Separatism was by no means confined to Connecticut, though it prevailed extensively there. Between the years 1740 and 1750 about thirty Separate churches were formed in New England.—*Holmes' Ann.*, II, 31.

The location of these adjacent towns on the Minas Basin, or Mines Bay as it is now called, a continuation of the Bay of Fundy, is delightfully pleasant, and proved to be very attractive to settlers.

Whether or not a Congregational church was organized by the Connecticut settlers does not appear, but the probability is, that there was such an organization. Certain it is, that a Congregational church was in existence at Cornwallis in 1776; though the present church, which appears to be a flourishing body, with a membership exceeding one hundred, dates back only to 1819.*

Shubael Dimock, a licensed preacher, a New Light Connecticut Congregationalist, was one of the first settlers of Falmouth, and doubtless used his influence in favor of evangelical truth; but whether a church was early organized there by

In the ancient town of Granville, Mass., the Congregational church was divided, about 1759, by the introduction of the Stoddardian doctrine and the half-way covenant practice; and a controversy was introduced, which lasted some seventeen years, led to the excommunication of several of the best men and women of the old church, and the setting up of a "Separate" meeting in the parish; which finally, about 1791, made Baptists of quite a number of the old church. — *Hist. of the Cong. Ch'h of Granville, O.*, by Rev. Jacob Little. Published in the *Ohio Observer*, 1845-1846.

* The *Canadian Congregational Year Book* for 1876-77, p. 74. The old church was formed on the plan of open communion, and was regarded for a number of years after 1776 as a Congregational church. It subsequently became a Baptist church. — See *Benedict*, 524.

him, does not appear. Dimock ultimately became a Baptist, and was the father of five Baptist ministers. He first landed at Newport, on the eastern side of the St. Croix river, which was early settled by New Englanders, in the autumn of 1759, but removed thence to Falmouth.*

Liverpool, on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, seventy-five miles southwest of Halifax, was first settled in 1760, by some twenty-five families from Massachusetts. They were, undoubtedly, from our seaboard towns, and probably from some of the fishing towns; as the fine harbor of Liverpool was a chief attraction, together with the extraordinary salmon fishery afforded by the river Mersey, which empties into Liverpool harbor.† The first settlers suffered severely for several years. But their numbers increased from year to year, and amounted to eighty families in 1762. These early settlers were of the true New England stamp, and amidst all their personal privations and sufferings, took care to organize a Congregational church in 1761, the first year after their settlement in the place. This church has maintained its existence, amidst all the changes of time, and still, though small—having but about sixty members—holds its honorable place among the oldest Congregational churches of

* *Benedict*, 522, 532; *Haliburton*, II, 110. I write Dimock and Dimmock, as I find them written.

† From this river the early settlers were able to take a thousand barrels of salmon in a season.

Nova Scotia, and to the present time continues to worship in the ancient meeting-house erected by the fathers in 1776.

The first pastor of this church was the Rev. Israel Cheevers. He probably accompanied the first settlers or early followed them; and after preaching to them for awhile, received an invitation to become their pastor. This he accepted, and taking with him "Letters Missive" from the Liverpool church to several churches in Massachusetts, came on, and having gathered a council at Rochester, Mass., was ordained, and by request of the church installed pastor of the Congregational church of Liverpool, N. S., September 19, 1761.*

* Haliburton, II, 145-47; *Canadian Year Book*, 1874, and 1876-77; *Cong'l Quarterly*, January 1, 1874; Woodrow's Sketch of the Ch'h at Liverpool, in the *Canadian Independent*, xvi, 250-54. The first ordination by Presbyterians in Nova Scotia did not take place until nine years later, in 1770; Mr. Bruin Romcas Cominges was then ordained pastor of the Dutch or German Calvinistic congregation at Lunenburg, N. S., which subsequently became a Presbyterian church. The ordination services were at Halifax; where four ministers met for the purpose, and proceeded "after the manner of an ordaining council in New England."—*Stiles' Lit. Diary*, in *Holmes' Ann.*, II, 174 and note. This church is still in existence, and is a strong, flourishing Presbyterian church, and has given life to quite a number of Presbyterian churches in its neighborhood, among the descendants of the original Germans who first settled Lunenburg County.

The tradition regarding the first pastor of Lunenburg is, that the people first sent to Philadelphia for a minister; but were told that a minister could not be sent to them; and were advised to select the best man in their own congregation, and get him ordained. And this advice they followed.

This township was burned over by the fiery zeal of that injudicious young evangelist, Henry Alline or Allen. He visited the place repeatedly, sometimes preaching every day, or even twice a day for successive days, and creating a great and unhealthy excitement. He had to encounter dead orthodoxy in the minister, and a church settled on its lees; all which of course excited his most vehement zeal, and provoked his unsparing condemnation; and finally, occasioned a division of the church and the organization of a Separate body. But fortunately, after Mr. Alline had left the neighborhood, a good man, the Rev. John Payzant, was found to take charge of this people, in 1801, and continued for thirty years or more to be the faithful and successful pastor of a united and prosperous church.*

Another of the early New England settlements in Nova Scotia was at Yarmouth or Chebogue, on the southwest coast of the Province, one hundred and thirty miles from Halifax. The location of Yarmouth is very fine, and was particularly favorable for carrying on the fishing business, for which it was selected. It was also much valued for the fine marsh land on the Chebogue river. Most of the very first settlers went thither from Sandwich, near Plymouth. They landed on the 9th of June, 1761, to the number of eighty-five persons, and immediately began to build their cabins on the

* *Canadian Independent, ut sup.*

foundations of an old Acadian village, which had been depopulated and destroyed by the English * when they exterminated those unfortunate people. The new-comers suffered terribly during the first winter—a few of them actually perishing of hunger—and when the spring opened, six families, utterly discouraged by their first and dreadful experience of a Nova Scotia winter, fled from the inhospitable shores; leaving only thirty-eight resolute souls to make good their settlement. This, by industry and wise management, they finally accomplished. In a short time other New Englanders joined them, and in six years the colony contained about sixty families, or three hundred souls. In 1766 a meeting-house was built, and the next year a Congregational church was gathered at Chebogue, a village within this township. Another

* As to the manner in which the Acadians were removed from their native soil, there cannot be two opinions. It was harsh and merciless. But as to the necessity of removing them, there may very reasonably be two opinions. Men who would neither take the oath of fidelity to the government under which they lived, nor abandon the enemies of this government and cease to coöperate with them on all convenient occasions, could not reasonably expect anything but expatriation. This question has been frequently discussed, particularly of late. *Campbell*, in his *Nova Scotia, in its Historical, Mercantile, and Industrial Relations* (Montreal, 1873), devotes a chapter to the subject; and an article in the *Transactions of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, entitled "Evangeline; or the Poetry and Prose of History," pretty effectually disposes of the romance of the Acadian character and life, as presented in *Evangeline*, borrowed from Abbé Raynal's description. — *Transactions, New Series*, Part vi, pp. 5-38.

church was organized in the same township, at a subsequent date, which is now known as the Church of Yarmouth.*

When the Chebogue church was formed, there was not a minister within a hundred miles of them, and self-organization became a necessity. Ten men and one woman, therefore, met, covenanted together "to walk with God, and watch over each other" as a church of Christ, chose one of their number to be their pastor and ordained him themselves, four of the brethren laying their hands on his head, while one of them prayed for the Divine consecration and blessing. Mr. John Frost was their first minister. Mr. Jona. Scott, another of the original members of this church, succeeded Mr. Frost, in 1770, and afterwards came to New England for ordination. This he received at Middleboro', Mass., April 28, 1772, and then returned to his church, carrying back with him a communion service, the gift of the Middleboro' church, with which the Chebogue church celebrated the Lord's Supper for the first time. Mr. Scott remained with this people about twenty-three years, and then removed to Minot, Maine.†

* *Haliburton's N. S.*, II, 177; *Benedict*, 526; "The Ancient Congregational Church at Chebogue," in the *Can. Indep.*, xIII, 430-43. 11

† Mr. Scott preached alternately at Chebogue and Cape Forceu, where a meeting-house was built in 1784. — *MS. Letter* to the author from Rev. E. Jones, of Minot, Me., the successor of Mr. Scott at Minot, who had access to Mr. Scott's papers and books, and had for a parishioner a son of Mr. Scott.

This venerable Puritan church has been subjected to numerous trials of its faith and patience, and it is a wonder that it still survives. First, it had to endure a visitation, in 1781, from that disorderly evangelist, Henry *Alline*, as the Nova Scotians write his name. Like our New England Davenport, this fiery zealot had no compunction in dividing churches and setting up altar against altar wherever his measures and manner of preaching were not cordially received. His short stay at Chebogue broke up the peace and harmony of the church. Subsequently some of the people were drawn away after a wild Baptist preacher. And at a period still later, the church came near being Presbyterianized by the efforts of a minister of that denomination, employed by them in default of one of their own kind. Though the Chebogue church survived this last great trial, which has proved fatal to hundreds of our churches, yet it was greatly weakened by the withdrawal of members to form a small Presbyterian church in the town. The old Congregational church, nevertheless, still lived in 1876, and reported a membership of sixty-nine souls. Its location forbids its ever being a large church. But it has the honor and pleasure of having contributed of its strength to Yarmouth church and to other churches around.

Besides the Chebogue church, there were contemporary Congregational churches at Annapolis, on the northwestern side of Nova Scotia; and at Granville, the Port Royal of the French; which

were visited by Alline and broken up in favor of New Light bodies, which ultimately became Baptist churches. Alline formed separate churches, also, at Sheffield, Cornwallis, and other places.*

The town of Onslow, at the eastern extremity of the Minas Basin, was first settled in the summer of 1761, by thirty families from Massachusetts. They were Congregationalists, and were soon organized into a church of that order, and had for their first minister the Rev. James Lyons. They suffered severely at first, as did most of the New England emigrants to Nova Scotia; but persevered against all discouragements, and became ultimately a flourishing community, particularly while under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Payzant. But Alline's labors here resulted, as elsewhere, in breaking up the old church and forming a New Light church, which in 1808 became a Baptist church.†

The township of Amherst and the immediate neighborhood, on the isthmus between the Northumberland Straits and the Bay of Fundy, were first settled, in part by New England people, prior to the American Revolution. A New Light Congregational church seems to have been formed

* Woodrow, in the *Canadian Indep.*, xiii, 430-43. I am greatly indebted to this gentleman's sketches of the early Congregational churches in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and to the enterprise of the *Independent* in publishing them. They have greatly facilitated my labors. — *Can. Year Book*, 1876-77; *Benedict*, 530.

† *Haliburton*, ii, 43; *Benedict*, 527.

there, or revived by Alline, who became its pastor for a short time. His successors were the Rev. J. H. Chipman, H. Harding and E. Manning; the last of whom, becoming a Baptist, led away several of the people into a small Baptist church, in 1809.*

Within the first quarter of the present century—it is not known how much earlier—there was a flourishing Congregational church at Manchester, a seaport town on Milford Haven, an inlet of Chedabucto Bay, at the northeast end of Nova Scotia, about a hundred and twenty miles E.N.E. from Halifax. The pastor of this church in 1823 was the Rev. Frederick Dairen, a good and efficient minister, who labored long and faithfully in all that neighborhood, preaching and forming Congregational churches as he had opportunities. At his death, the church at Manchester began to languish, and had become nearly or quite extinct about 1874–5, when the place was visited by the Rev. Jacob Whitman, and the old church was resuscitated and he became its pastor.†

Several of the early Congregational churches of Nova Scotia maintained “mixed communion,” having among them more or less Baptists. And this plan was followed for a long time; usually

* *Haliburton*, 11, 83—; *Benedict*, 528.

† *MS. Letter*, J. Woodrow, Esq., December, 1876. The date of Mr. Dairen's death I cannot learn. But in 1808 the Rev. J. *Darin* is reported as pastor of the church at Manchester, N. S. This undoubtedly is the same good man who spelled his name F. Dairen.

ending, however, either in a division of the church or in its becoming a close-communion Baptist body. This habit of mixed communion was that of the "New Lights" or "Separates" of New England, of whom there were, as we have seen, very many among the early settlers of Nova Scotia.

Among the earliest Congregational ministers in the Province were John Seccombe, Joseph Dimmock, Shubael Dimock, Israel Cheever, John Payzant, John Frost, Jonathan Scott, James Lyons, T. H. Chipman, H. Harding, Edward Manning, Messrs. Burton and Harris, and Henry Alline. Messrs. Manning and Chipman after awhile became Baptists. Associated with them, or nearly contemporaneous with them, were several avowedly Baptist preachers; as the Rev. Messrs. Nathan Mason, Ebenezer Moulton, and John and James Sutton. These were all in the Province as early as 1763. Mason and eleven associates were members of the old Baptist church in Swansea, Mass., and were organized as a Baptist church and he was ordained pastor before leaving New England. They settled at what is now Sackville, New Brunswick, in 1763.*

* *Benedict*, 521-24, 528, 532-3. In 1745 a Separate church was formed at Mansfield, Conn., of which "Shubael Dimick" was one of the deacons. He, undoubtedly, is the "Shubael Dimock" mentioned by *Benedict ut sup.* The persecutions to which the Separates were exposed in Connecticut drove him and his associates to Nova Scotia. That he should appear there as a preacher is not strange; for the Separates held that no outward call nor

This seems to have been the first distinctively Baptist church in the Provinces. But others rapidly appeared, Alline's labors greatly contributing to this. At first, these churches were generally open communionists, and there were no division walls between them and the Pedobaptists. The first association of ministers and churches in Nova Scotia embraced two Baptist ministers—the Rev. T. H. Chipman of Annapolis, and Rev. Jas. Manning of Granville; two Pedobaptists—Rev. John Payzant of Liverpool and the Rev. Edward Manning, then of Granville; and two other ministers and six churches—all open communionists. This was in 1797–1798; and it was not until about 1809 that the Baptist churches began to make a formal separation and to condemn mixed communion with the Congregationalists.*

license was necessary to authorize a man to preach the gospel. They insisted that, being a true Christian, feeling an inward motion of the Spirit, or a persuasion that one should preach, was all that was necessary. The Separates were all originally Congregationalists and Pedobaptists, though not at all exclusive. They were "higher-life" and "full-assurance" people. Their distinctive and most important peculiarity, however, was the belief that the church should contain only real, experimental Christians, in opposition to the half-way covenantism of their day.—See *Tracy's Great Awakening*, 316–23.

* *Mr. Benedict* says: "Although Mr. Allen [Alline] was born, lived, and died in the Pedobaptist connection, yet, on account of his instrumentality in raising up Baptist churches, and of the good savor of his name with those who were associated with him in his evangelical labors, I have thought proper to give some biographical sketches of his character." . . . — *History of the Baptist Denomination*, p. 523.

About the year 1776 a revival of unusual power and extent was experienced in Nova Scotia; though there is reason to fear that it was not altogether free from objectionable features and bad fruits.

The Rev. Henry Aline, who was the leading spirit in this work, which continued for several years, was born in Newport, R. I., in 1748, and moved, with his father's family, in 1760, to Falmouth, N. S. Though religiously educated, he did not make a public profession of religion until about 1775. After this, he became solicitous to be a preacher, and actually started for New England to study for the ministry. But some providential occurrences stopped his journey, and at the solicitation of friends, and in accordance with his own zealous nature, he was induced to begin the work of preaching without any special preparation beyond what an ordinary school education, rather superior natural endowments, an ardent imagination and a ready command of language gave him. His first attempts proved eminently successful in stirring the minds and quickening the hearts of the people; and for about eight years he travelled through the country, preaching with great fervor and wonderful power and success. A general reformation ensued, which was compared to that which followed the labors of Whitefield. Aline was called a second Whitefield. But he entertained many singular and erroneous views, and was very loose in regard to church ordinances, organization, and discipline. He maintained that the

souls of all were present in the garden with our first parents in Eden, and participated in their great transgression; that Adam and Eve before the fall had no material bodies, but were pure spirits; that man has "an animal or elementary body, and a spiritual and immortal body, and an immortal mind;" "that at the hour of conversion the Son of God takes possession of the immortal mind, but leaves the fallen, immortal body in its fallen state still," not to be raised from the grave, but to be burned up and dissolved. He declared that an unconverted man could not preach the gospel—that is, it was impossible for him; and that genuine ministers of the gospel were so completely fitted and authorized of God as to be independent of the help of man.

The doctrines of foreordination, decrees and election were all rejected and denied by Alline. As to baptism, his doctrine was that no baptism was of any account but the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire; but he said, "If any true Christians are conscience bound to be sprinkled, they and their children, by no means forbid them. If others are conscience bound to omit the baptizing of their infants, but choose to go all under water themselves, after their conversion, why should they not go. If others are conscience bound to omit both, it is all a non-essential matter."

There was so little of order or discipline, or harmony of sentiment in the churches which he formed—which were very numerous—that they

speedily fell to pieces or into the hands of other denominations after his death.*

Alline we may believe was a good man, and was instrumental of many conversions, but he was a wild man, and profoundly unsound in doctrine and erroneous in practice; and it may be an open question, whether Nova Scotia is to-day in as good a religious condition as she would have been had Alline never preached a sermon within her territorial bounds.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

The fine, fertile Province of New Brunswick — a part of Nova Scotia until 1784–5 — with its extensive seacoast on the Bay of Fundy, and its noble rivers, lakes, bays and harbors, was invaded by New England emigrants about the same time that Nova Scotia was settled — perhaps a year or two later than the very first settlements in Nova Scotia were made; and its history, until 1784, is identified with that Province.†

Maugerville and vicinity, including what is now

* *Benedict*, 523 and note 3; *Allen's Biog. Dict.*, art. Allen; *MS. Letter of Rev. Mr. Jones* to the author, in which he quotes freely from Rev. Mr. Scott's book against the "Allenites." He also refers to Mr. Scott's diary, which was in the hands of a son of Mr. S., then residing in Minot, Me. The quotations in the text are from the valuable letter of Mr. Jones.

† The French at one time claimed all Maine to the Kennebec river as a part of their Acadie, which included New Brunswick and a part at least of Nova Scotia.

Sheffield, on the banks of the river St. John, some fifty miles from its mouth and fifteen miles below Fredrickton, was the earliest settlement of New England people in New Brunswick. They became first acquainted with this country during the old French war, when a body of Massachusetts troops was sent to the support of Major Lawrence, engaged in driving the French, and their allies, the Indians from the Province. In 1760-1761, a number of persons in Essex county, Mass., principally men who had served in the expedition under Lawrence, petitioned for a grant of land twelve miles square on the St. John river, for a settlement for themselves and their families. This was made to them, and an exploring expedition of twenty men, including two families, arrived at the mouth of the St. John in the spring of 1762. Ascending the river, they finally pitched upon a tract on either bank, which they surveyed and laid out and settled upon, calling it Maugerville. These first settlers were all, or nearly all Congregationalists, and most of them appear to have emigrated from Rowley, Newburyport and immediate vicinity.* In making their survey, they were required to reserve one lot of land as a glebe for the Church of England, one for the dissenting

* Coffin tells us that of the New England troops employed in the final struggle between England and France for the supremacy in America, a large number went from Newbury. — *History of Newbury*, p. 224.

Protestant church, one for the maintenance of a school, and one for the first settled minister.

The first settlers took with them a minister, the Rev. Mr. Welman, and established public worship immediately, though a church was not formally organized until about 1766. This delay may have been occasioned by the interference of the English government with the grant of land made to them by the Provincial authorities, which interference for some time rendered the tenure of their land quite uncertain, and discouraged any permanent organization.* They nevertheless kept up public worship among themselves, and had a minister with them most of the time. This appears from the fact that we have the names of three ministers — Rev. Messrs. Welman, Briggs and Webster — who preached to this people before a regular pastor was obtained.†

The earliest known covenant made by these Christian men and women — as early as 1768, if not earlier, which was renewed by them in 1779,

* "When it became known in England that some of the most eligible lands in Nova Scotia had been taken up by Puritan settlers, there was great dissatisfaction in certain quarters, and the king was induced to communicate to the governor at Halifax an order reserving the lands for the disbanded troops of the regular army; but the petitions of the settlers and the remonstrances of Governor Belcher caused the order to be revoked and grants to be issued in 1765." — Woodrow, in *Canadian Indep.*, XIII, 395.

† *Manuscript Sketch of the Congregational Church of Sheffield, N. B.*, by the present pastor, Rev. William Williams, for the use of which I am greatly indebted to the author.

and is still in use—is sound and orthodox. It recognizes their dependence on God, and their obligations to love and serve Him; their belief in the Divinity and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ; and their need of the help of the Holy Spirit, to enable them to walk worthy of the Christian name, and to train up their children for God. “Respecting church discipline,” the covenant says: “It is our purpose to adhere to the method contained in the platform, for the substance of it, agreed upon by the Synod at Cambridge, New England, A. D. 1648, as thinking those methods of church discipline nearest the Scriptures and most likely to maintain and promote purity, order and peace, of any.” *

It was not till 1774 that the church were able to unite in settling a pastor, or could procure one to be settled. On the 15th of June, of that year, the Rev. Seth Noble was called to the pastorate, accepted the call, was ordained at Newburyport, and immediately entered on his pastoral duties.†

On the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, Mr. Noble strongly sympathized with the Americans, and sought to persuade his people to abandon

* *Williams and Woodrow, ut sup.* This covenant was originally signed by eight persons: Jonathan Burpe, Elisha Nevens, Richard Estey, Daniel Palmer, Jacob Backee, Gervas Say, Edward Coye, and Jonathan Smith.

† The Rev. Oliver Noble was pastor of the Fifth Church in Newbury at that date. It is not unlikely that Seth was a relative. And this fact, with the consideration that many of the first settlers of Maugerville were from Newbury, sufficiently explains why that place was selected for the ordination of Mr. Noble.

their farms and merchandise and return in a body to New England. They, however, declined to leave precipitately a place where God had smiled upon them both in spiritual and temporal things, and cast themselves, destitute of means of support, into a place where the necessities of life might be hard to obtain, and where vice and immorality might prevail, and where vital godliness might not flourish as it did in their own settlement. Thus they replied to their pastor.

But though Mr. Noble could not persuade his church to leave the Province, he himself went away about the year 1777, and remained until the war was over. He then returned and claimed to be the pastor of the Sheffield church, and demanded the arrearages of salary which had accrued during his six or seven years' absence. Both of these claims were of course resisted by the church. Mr. Noble's abandonment of them involved them in serious and long-continued trouble about their church lands, which were claimed by churchmen in his absence. And this was not all. But during Mr. Noble's protracted absence, being much of the time destitute of any religious instructor and guide, the people were subjected to the disorderly inroads of Henry Alline. He visited them several times, beginning in 1779, and as usual created a disturbance in the church, which eventuated in the organization, as elsewhere, of a Separate church. This church, however, died out about 1784.

Subsequently, the old church experienced much

trouble from the apostasy to Episcopacy of one of its ministers, and his attempt to hold the meeting-house and the land belonging to the Maugerville church; in which he was countenanced and supported by the churchmen and the government of the Province.

The settlement at Maugerville, notwithstanding all the drawbacks which it had to encounter, continued to prosper and increase through the Revolutionary War, and in 1783 was estimated to contain a population of about a thousand souls. The church struggled along with temporary supplies for its pulpit, constantly seeking in various directions for a pastor, until the autumn of 1826, when they succeeded, through the favor of the Rev. George Burder, Secretary of the London Missionary Society, in securing Rev. Archibald McCallum, of Scotland, who continued with it for twenty years, laboring in the meantime assiduously to promote the good cause in all the neighborhood, travelling and preaching in the destitute townships, and organizing Congregational churches wherever there was an opportunity.

For more than a century this Congregational church has maintained itself against various malign influences, including the bitter hostility of the Provincial government and the defection of two or three of its own pastors, and battled bravely for the truth and for its own individual rights. And it has nobly succeeded, maintaining its own prosperous existence, while it has given life and

prosperity to other churches in its neighborhood. It has done much to give this rural town a name and a fame through all the Province for thrift, culture and virtue. Its pastor in 1874 was the Rev. William Williams, to whose "Sketch of the History of the Congregational Church of Sheffield, N. B.," and personal correspondence, I am largely indebted for the facts found in this notice.*

Sackville, a little north of Amherst, on the Bay of Fundy, or rather on the Chignecto Basin, was originally settled in part by a Baptist church of thirteen members, which was formed at Swansea, Mass., and emigrated thither in the spring of 1763, with their minister, Nathan Mason.† After about eight years, this church becoming dissatisfied with the country and the government, abandoned the

* An intelligent American gentleman, who formerly lived in Sheffield, and to whom I applied for some information, writes: "Sheffield was from the beginning, and remained up to the date when I knew it, distinguished for the virtue, intelligence, and thrift of its inhabitants. It is my impression that no other rural town in New Brunswick could rival it in these respects."—*MS. Letter*.

See Mr. Woodrow's admirable sketch of this venerable church in the *Canadian Independent*, vol. xiv, 393-99, 480-84. Even Mr. J. Silk Buckingham's book of travels in Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, etc., has furnished some material for this sketch. — pp. 400-13, London: 1843.

† Nathan Mason and wife, Thomas Lewis and wife, Oliver Mason and wife, and Experience Baker were from the Swansea church, while Benjamin Mason, Charles Seamans, and Gilbert Seamans, and their wives, were from other Baptist churches. — *Backus*, III, 146.

place and returned to New England, chiefly to Berkshire, Mass. But there were settlers enough left to constitute a Congregational church in the town, somewhere about 1776, when the great awakening was experienced throughout that country under the labors of Henry Alline and his associates. But this church, like others formed by that wild man, was so loosely put together that it soon fell to pieces.*

A Congregational church was organized in 1819 at Cardigan, some forty miles north of Fredrickton, on the Miramichi river, and was still living in 1876-77, though a feeble body. Besides this, another church was formed, in 1819, at Keswick Ridge, a few miles south of Cardigan, which was a flourishing body apparently, in 1876 reporting one hundred communicants.

Still another was organized, in 1844, at St. John, now the most populous city in New Brunswick. This church had one hundred and nineteen communicants in 1876. A Congregational church was also organized in 1846, at the city of Milltown, or St. Stephen's, on the St. Croix, just opposite Calais, Maine. This is one of the largest and most prosperous churches of our order in New Brunswick, having one hundred and twenty communicants in 1876. And these five churches are all the Congregational churches that were found in the Province in 1876-7.

* *Bockus' Hist. Baptists*, 111, 146; *Benedict*, 533-4.

We have now noticed all the earlier Congregational churches which were organized in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and indeed, all that have ever been formed in those Provinces, so far as is now known.* The whole number now living in either Province amounts to only twenty, with an aggregate membership of thirteen hundred and fifteen souls, in 1876-7. They are furnished with church buildings, which contain sittings for six thousand three hundred persons, and possess church property valued at one hundred and eight thousand four hundred and fifty dollars. And though generally small churches, their contributions for the year 1876-7 amounted to nearly seventeen thousand dollars.

The American Revolutionary War seriously damaged the Congregational churches of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A very considerable proportion of the New England settlers returned to the States, led or followed by most of their ministers, an exodus from which the churches slowly if ever rallied. But yet several of the Nova Scotia Congregational churches of modern date are composed

* The presiding officer of the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Congregational Union in 1860 said in his address: "There is reason also to believe that in this Province [the meeting was in Nova Scotia] our churches have been much more numerous than they now are, having been swallowed up among other denominations." — *Canadian Indep.*, viii.

largely of the descendants of the early New England settlers. This is true of the churches at Yarmouth, Cornwallis, Milton and Pleasant River. Halifax also contains some of the old Puritan blood, as do the churches at Keswick Ridge and St. John, New Brunswick; and to this blood the Canadians freely acknowledge their large indebtedness for the civil and religious liberties which they now enjoy.*

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The large island of Newfoundland — three hundred and fifty miles long by an average width of one hundred and thirty miles, situate just at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in the very centre of the finest fishing grounds in the world, and nearer Great Britain than any other point in North America—was discovered, or rediscovered by John Cabot in 1497, was taken possession of by Sir Henry Gilbert in 1583, and repossessed by Sir Francis Drake a few years subsequently; and yet, during entire generations, France and England fought for the supremacy of this island. And it was not finally acknowledged to belong wholly to England until 1713.

But long before this—a hundred years and more — English adventurers, and even chartered companies were busy in attempts to establish colonies along the shores of this island; the seas

* *Canadian Year Book* for 1874, p. 36.

around which—according to Lord Bacon, who was a partner in one of these chartered companies—contained a richer treasure than the mines of Mexico and Peru. And before the close of the sixteenth century, hundreds of sail of fishing vessels made Newfoundland their headquarters during the summer months.*

Among other adventurers, Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, obtained a charter in 1623 of the whole southeastern peninsula of the island, in which are a number of the finest bays and harbors on the coast, such as Placentia, St. Mary's, Conception, and Trinity bays. Cape Race is the extremity of this peninsula, and the Grand

* *The History of Newfoundland*, etc. By Rev. Charles Pedley, of St. John's, N. F., chaps. i and ii, particularly p. 21. London: Longman & Co., 1863; octavo, 531 pages.

"In 1578, according to Hakluyt, no less than four hundred vessels were engaged annually in this employ, of which from thirty to fifty were English."—*Pedley*, 10. "The coast of Newfoundland, for most of the late years [1626], was frequented by two hundred and fifty sail of English vessels, estimated at fifteen thousand tons, employing five thousand persons, and an annual profit of about one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling."—*Holmes' Ann.*, I, 189.

The patent for the colony in which Lord Bacon was interested was issued April 27, 1610, "to the Earl of Northampton and forty-four other persons." "In June they send Mr. John Grey, as Governor, with thirty-nine persons, who arrives there, begins a colony at Conception Bay, and there winters."—*Prince's Chron.*, 123; *Holmes' Ann.*, I, 139. And for upwards of fifty years previous to 1610, we are told that the subjects of this realm had annually resorted to Newfoundland to fish.

Banks stretch all around this point. A large, well furnished colony was sent out, and Sir George himself followed with his family, and took up his residence in the island for several years; giving his territorial possessions the fair name of the "Province of Avalon."

Now, if Calvert's colony in Newfoundland was made up of materials like those with which he subsequently colonized Maryland, there must have been more or less Protestants, and even Puritans and Separatists among them.*

Then again, there are some intimations that Newfoundland was at one time used by the British government as a sort of penal colony, as indeed were other English settlements in the New World. According to Governor Bradford—who certainly must have known what he asserts—some of the "Separatists," as they were called, or earliest English Congregationalists, were banished to Newfoundland during Elizabeth's cruel reign; for speaking of these poor Christians, he says: "Many of them had lain long in prisons, and then were banished into Newfoundland, where they were abused, and at last came into the Low Countries."† . . .

So merciless, indeed, were Elizabeth's churchmen towards the hated Separatists, and so utterly hopeless were these Christian dissenters, about 1592-1594, of any rest or opportunity to do good

* See Congregationalism in Maryland in this volume.

† *Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 440-41.

in England, that they looked forward to nothing better than banishment from their native land, with the loss of all their worldly goods, if they attempted to stay and maintain their conscientious opinions. They therefore petitioned the Queen for the privilege of emigrating in a body to "Canada;" an indefinite term in their minds, as likely to include Newfoundland as any other part of this western world, as it was a part of which they probably had as much knowledge as of any other. Some of them may have been there. Certainly some of the Mayflower's company in 1620 had been in the island, as we learn from an incidental remark in "Mourt's Relation." *

From what has now been said, it is certainly not an unreasonable inference, that among the earliest English settlers on the island of Newfoundland there were Congregationalists.

It illustrates the high estimate put on this island, as well as the tenacity with which England has ever held her colonial possessions, to know that by about the middle of the seventeenth century she had fifteen distinct settlements in Newfoundland,

* See *Hist. Cong.*, vol. III, 217-18 and notes; also Penry's Letter "to the Distressed and Faithful Congregation of Christ in London," April, 1593—in *Hanbury's Memorials*, I, 75-78; *Hist. Cong.*, III, 169-70; *Young's Chron. Pilgrims*, 155 [December 7, 1620]. "About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our sentinels cried 'Arm! Arm!' So we bestirred ourselves, and shot off a couple of muskets, and the noise ceased. We concluded that it was a company of wolves or foxes; for one told us he had heard such a noise in Newfoundland."

notwithstanding all hindrances; and a permanent population of at least three hundred and fifty families — say from fifteen to seventeen hundred persons. And then, there was a transient population during the fishing season of some thousands of men and boys, more or less of whom would become from time to time permanent residents.*

The English fishing vessels which visited Newfoundland were largely from the west of England, and were manned by the same sort of men as those for whose religious benefit the first colony in Massachusetts Bay, at Gloucester, was established "about the year 1623."† And between New England and Newfoundland there was early a constant and profitable intercourse; the fishermen seeking their supplies largely from New England, and

* *Pedley*, 24-25; *Bonnycastle's Newfoundland*, i, 81: "Near four hundred families located in Newfoundland as early as 1654." *Prince* says, "This year [1616] Captain Richard Whitbourn goes to Newfoundland with a commission from the Admiralty to empannel juries, etc. And this year, at Newfoundland, are many thousands of English, French, Portuguese and others; the French and Biscayans resorting chiefly to the north and west parts, where the Indians also chiefly keep." And then adds: "Newfoundland being thus settled, I shall leave their history." — *New Eng. Chron.*, 135.

"In 1732 Newfoundland contained about six thousand inhabitants" — *Holmes*, i, 554. One sixth of these probably were in St. John's. In 1780 the inhabitants of the island were estimated at from eight to ten thousand, and the householders at St. John's at three hundred and twenty-one, or say fifteen or sixteen hundred souls. — *Pedley*, 152-3.

† "White's Relation," in *Chron. Mass.*, p. 5

paying for them in fish and oil;* and immigrants for Plymouth and Massachusetts coming often in vessels bound to Newfoundland, and persons going to England or coming to New England, often going or coming by the way of that island. Thus, the eight vessels which were detained in the Thames by order of the Privy Council, May 1, 1637, because they were "filled with Puritan families," bound to New England, were Newfoundland vessels; and the masters and owners got away finally, by representing that, if they were detained, the trade of Newfoundland would be very much impaired, and the national revenue seriously affected. And at a subsequent period, 1641, we read that John Winthrop, Jr., and forty others, with the Commissioners for England, sailed for Newfoundland at one time, expecting there to find vessels bound to England.†

The supposition that there must have been quite a number of Puritan and even Congregational Christians early introduced to Newfoundland, in the several ways suggested, is confirmed by the fact alluded to in our early history, that

* At about the time that our Continental Congress (1774-1775) suspended all intercourse or trade by importation and exportation with Great Britain and her colonies, the United States were furnishing Newfoundland with produce to the annual amount of nearly three hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, or one million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. — *Bonnycastle*, 1, 128-9.

† *Neal's Puritans*, 11, 342; *Felt's Ecc. Hist. N. E.*, 1, 283, 434.

the notorious George Downing, one of the first graduates of Cambridge, went to Newfoundland about 1645, and there preached, as he did in some of the West India Islands, and received invitations to remain and to settle in the ministry. And that there was a church, or at least a congregation then on the island, ready to hear and even to settle a Congregational minister, appears from the fact that about 1660 the Rev. Richard Blinman, a well-known and much-esteemed New England divine, on his way to England, stopped at Newfoundland, and preached to the people, and received a call to settle in the ministry among them. From a letter addressed to Rev. Mr. Davenport, of New Haven, from Newfoundland, August 22, 1660, we learn that Mr. Blinman's ministry was acceptable to all the people there except some Quakers, and that he was much desired and flocked unto.*

So much may be said about the very early religious history of Newfoundland, so far as Congregationalism is concerned; enough certainly to show that as early as the middle of the seventeenth century (1645-1660) there were in Newfoundland Congregationalists, or persons friendly to our polity and mode of worship — sufficient to form a respectable society, able and willing to support a minister of our faith and order. Whether there was an organized church we are not informed.

* *Winthrop*, i, 240-43; *Allen*, art. Blinman; *Felt*, ii, 266.

In 1874 there were but two Congregational churches on this large island: one at St. John's, and one at Smith's Sound. This sound is an inlet of Trinity Bay from Bonaventure Head inland thirty miles or more, and sixty or eighty miles from St. John's in a northwest direction. Of the church at Smith's Sound nothing is known but that in 1874 it had a pastor. Of the church at St. John's, we are informed that it dates back about one hundred years, to the year 1775 or 1778. Its organization was in part, at least, the work of a devotedly pious soldier, Sergeant John Jones, of the Royal Artillery.*

Jones had been religiously brought up among the Welsh dissenters, and had united himself with a church of the "Whitefieldites" in Chatham, England. But, according to his own account, he must have fallen away from his first love into vicious ways before he enlisted in the army. His company being ordered to St. John's, N. F., in 1775, he accompanied it, and there began to live again a thoroughly religious life. Moved by the extremely low state of religion in the place, he instituted a prayer-meeting in his own room. This gradually increased in numbers and interest, and suggested to him the expediency of establishing

* One of its pastors, the Rev. Mr. Ward, says it was instituted in 1778. — See *Bonnycastle's Newfoundland*, II, 108. Another, the Rev. Mr. Pedley, seems to place its organization three years earlier, in 1775. — *Hist. Newfoundland*, 138, 461.

regular religious worship in his room. From this, he gathered courage after a while to address the people in the Court House. This, however, was regarded by his superiors as a step too far, and he was forbidden to make any further public addresses, except in the open air. But in 1777 this restriction was removed, and a house of worship was built for him, and the small Congregational church which was formed about that time began to hold regular services in the house, under Mr. Jones' ministry, though as yet but a lay preacher. Still the government was so unfriendly, and so obstructed his labors, that Mr. Jones had finally to give up his lay preaching. He then retired from the army and went home to England, to prepare himself more fully for the ministry, and to obtain license and ordination to preach the gospel. In 1779-80, having accomplished both these ends — fitted himself for the ministry and obtained ordination — he returned to Newfoundland and resumed his ministry among his attached people there, who had been patiently awaiting his return. But the British authorities were no more friendly to the *Rev.* John Jones than they had been to Sergeant Jones of the Royal Artillery; and they so hampered his movements and harassed him, that he felt constrained at last to give up his ministry in St. John's and return again to England. But in 1782 Vice-Admiral John Campbell succeeded to the government of Newfoundland, and proved himself a man of liberal religious views. And

to the application of Mr. Jones and his friends for liberty to worship God in their own house, agreeably to their views of Christian duty, the governor returned answer, "that, so far from preventing, he should do all in his power to further it." *

Accordingly, the little Congregational meeting-house was again opened, and Mr. Jones resumed his labors among his devoted flock, from which he was never again separated until death removed him to a better world in the year 1800.

This church, planted and sustained with so much difficulty and amidst such continued opposition, has proved itself to be thoroughly rooted and grounded in the faith; and though isolated, and never large nor rich, has uniformly maintained a highly respectable standing in the community, and has had a succession of pastors of which any church might well be proud—the Rev. J. Howell, Rev. Mr. Ward, Rev. C. Pedley, and Rev. J. Hall.

"Instituted at a time when there was the greatest imaginable destitution of religious means in the island," this church fully justified the hopes of its founders, and vindicated its Puritanic character by its whole subsequent work of faith and labor of love. It has always supported the institutions of religion in St. John's and elsewhere by the voluntary contributions of its members and friends, and by pew rents, after the manner of the New England churches. It has honored itself, and put

* *Pedley's Hist.*, 138.

honor on its successive pastors, by obtaining men of excellence, by retaining them in the pastorate for long periods, and by maintaining a steady and respectable position in the community. In its three public services on Sunday and two in the week, and its yearly fast and thanksgiving days, we find a very strong resemblance to its New England kindred. The same appears in its support of a large and prosperous Sunday school for its own children, and its efforts to establish schools in destitute neighborhoods; and in having a home missionary society, and supporting missionaries in destitute places on the island. Their likeness to New England Congregationalists still more clearly appears in the readiness with which they have allowed other Evangelical denominations to occupy the ground which they had first broken up and planted with the good seed, and even to take possession of places of worship which had been built through their instrumentality. The old church at St. John's contained, at last accounts, about one hundred and fifty members, and the habitual worshippers with them made up a congregation of some four or five hundred souls.*

In no other part of British North America had

* My chief authority for this account of the St. John's Congregational Church is the Rev. D. S. Ward, pastor of this church in 1842. See also *Newfoundland* in 1842, by Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, II, 108-9; and *Pedley's History of Newfoundland*, pp. 138, 461-2. Mr. Pedley was pastor of this church about 1800.

the New England people of the eighteenth century more reason to be interested than in the fine large island of Cape Breton, on the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia, and separated from it only by a narrow strait, the Gut of Canso.

Though said to have been first discovered by the English, it was first settled by the French, having been surrendered to them by Charles I, in 1632, together with all the English possessions in Canada and Lacadie, which included Nova Scotia — to the great grief and deep disgust of the Protestants of England and America. And when this sacrifice was attended, or followed, by the surrender of the magnificent harbor and the fort of Port Royal, Annapolis, near Cape Sable, at the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, with all its ammunition and military stores, and the news was brought to Boston (January 17, 1632–3) that it was already garrisoned by some companies of French soldiers, and that preparations were made to send many more the next year, “and divers priests and Jesuits with them” — when this alarming news was brought to the Puritans of Massachusetts, “the assistants and the ministers and captains, and some other chief men,” were immediately called together by the governor, “to advise what was fit to be done for our safety, in regard the French were like to prove ill neighbors, being Papists” — as indeed they did from that day onward for an entire century.

The measures recommended by this council of

wise men prove the deep concern which Massachusetts felt in these French movements along the eastern coast; for "it was agreed that a plantation and a fort should forthwith be begun at Natascott [Nantasket] partly to be some block in an enemy's way . . . and also that the fort begun at Boston should be finished; also, that a plantation should be begun at Agawam (being the best place in the land for tillage and cattle), least an enemy, finding it void, should possess and take it from us." *

The French were not slow to appreciate the importance of their eastern possessions, intervening as they did between the hated Puritan colonies of New England and the great British island of Newfoundland, and giving to France not only the control of the invaluable fisheries of that region, but putting into her hands the very key of the St. Lawrence and all Canada, and assuring to her ultimately the absolute sovereignty of all that vast and valuable country, from the Bay of Fundy to the lakes of Canada, if she could but hold that precious key.

To make this coveted possession sure to them, the French set about fortifying the noble harbor of Louisbourg, on the southeastern shore of the island, as no other spot in North America had ever been fortified. They built a rampart of stone thirty feet and more high, with a trench eighty feet wide; a citadel, with bomb-proof barracks,

* *Winthrop's Jour.*, 1, 98-9; *Prince's Chron.*, 415-17.

and bastions and batteries which mounted more than two hundred cannon; all requiring twenty-five years of labor and an expenditure of about six millions of dollars. The place was deemed impregnable; was called the Dunkirk of America, and was a constant menace to all British North America, but most especially to New England; as from the harbor of Louisbourg privateers could easily assail her coasters, and even destroy her valuable fisheries along the neighboring coasts, and if pursued, retreat to the safe enclosure of those formidable fortifications.

So serious an evil indeed was this French fortification of Cape Breton regarded, that in 1745 Governor Shirley of Massachusetts formed a bold—and many counted it an utterly reckless plan for its capture. By the coöperation of New Hampshire and Connecticut, about four thousand militia were raised, and with the aid of a small squadron of English frigates and an improvised fleet of New England vessels, this mighty fortress was taken; Colonel William Pepperell, of Kittery, commanding the land forces, and Commodore Warren, of the English navy, the ships of war. The siege, though short, was without a parallel in all the previous military operations of America for hardships. For fourteen successive nights the army was employed in dragging cannon and mortars two miles, through morasses where no animal could work. Immense booty, as well as extraordinary honor, were the rewards of this bold exploit. So

wonderful indeed was the success of this enterprise accounted, that our pious ancestors ascribed it entirely to the special interposition of Divine Providence. The equally providential destruction of the powerful French fleet—the most powerful ever sent to these shores—in 1746, designed to recapture Louisbourg, and revenge the insult and injury inflicted by its capture, was another event likely to impress Cape Breton deeply on the New England mind.*

But after all, Cape Breton was never a favorite place of settlement with New Englanders. And there is no record, so far as is known, of any colonies emigrating to the island from this hive of enterprising men, nor any Congregational churches being formed there at an early period of its English history.

There are, however, at the present time a few Congregationalists scattered over the island, and one small but efficient and enterprising church of our order in the lovely valley of the Margaree, on the west side of Cape Breton.

The first settlers at Margaree were some English families, who, in default of any authorized preacher, maintained religious worship for a while by the aid of the Book of Common Prayer. One of this company, however, was a decided Congregationalist—a man of gifts and a ready exhorter; which being recognized by his associates, made

* *Adams' Hist. New Eng.*, pp. 205–11.

him their acknowledged leader in spiritual things, and led to the organization of a Congregational church in 1823 by the Rev. Frederick Dairen, of Manchester, N. S., who occasionally visited the island. This church, though isolated and entirely alone on the large island of Cape Breton, has held steadily on its way, enjoying a good measure of prosperity, having by last accounts a membership of fifty-seven souls and a faithful pastor, the Rev. W. Peacock. They have a small meeting-house, with sittings for three hundred persons, and a parsonage.*

There appears to have been a Congregational church, or at least a Congregational society, at the northeast extremity of Cape Breton island as lately as 1868, of which the Rev. H. Hingley was then the pastor. But it has since disappeared from the list of our churches, and if it was ever more than a missionary station has become extinct.†

It is a painful fact that many Congregational churches and preaching stations in the Provinces have from time to time been lost to the denomination, for lack of pecuniary means to sustain them. Even places where there was strength enough to

* MS. Letter from James Woodrow, Esq.; *Canadian Year Books*, 1874-5 and 1876-7; *Cong'l Quar.*, January, 1875.

† Compare the *Cong'l Quarterly* for January, 1868, with the *Canadian Year Book* for 1870-7. The Year Book reports the Rev. J. S. Hindley as pastor of the Congregational church at Owen Sound. Is this the same gentleman who was at Cape North in 1868?

erect church buildings, the Provincial Missionary Society have been compelled to abandon for the want of sufficient funds.*

DOMINION OF CANADA.

Congregationalism in Canada is of comparatively recent origin. It was hardly known there prior to the nineteenth century, and thirty-three years later its progress had been quite insignificant. Indeed, about all the progress of the denomination in Canada has been made since 1833. At that date there were not more than twelve Congregational churches in all Upper and Lower Canada—now known as the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec—in a population but little short of a million of souls. Even as lately as 1840, the Congregational Union of Upper and Lower Canada embraced only twelve or thirteen churches and as many ministers. And these churches, except in

* "The Congregational churches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are crippled in their operations for want of means. The members scatter in various directions, and appeals are made for the opening of new fields; but the Union finds all the available means required to assist the weak churches in its connection. . . . There are several places in both Provinces where there are church buildings, but the cause being weak, and the Union without sufficient funds, the fields have had to be abandoned."—*MS. Letter*, (December, 1876) from J. Woodrow, Esq., Treasurer of the Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The reader of this sketch of Congregationalism in the British North American Provinces will not need to be told of the obligations of the author to the intelligence and courtesy of Mr. Woodrow.

Montreal and Quebec, were generally so small and poor in 1839 as to be "utterly incapable of supporting their ministers without aid from abroad." They were then largely dependent on the aid of the American Home Missionary Society.*

Congregationalism seems to have first made its way into Upper and Lower Canada not far from the same time. Into the eastern townships in

* *MS. Letter from Rev. A. J. Parker, of Danville, in Shipton, Canada East, February 20, 1840. Mr. Parker was one of the chief fathers of Congregationalism in the eastern townships.*

MS. Letter from Rev. James Robertson, pastor of the Congregational church at Sherbrooke and Lennoxville, L. C., addressed to the author in October, 1839. It is with peculiar emotions that I am now, in the winter of 1879-80, reading and using a number of letters which were written in answer to inquiries made of excellent and representative Congregationalists thirty and forty years ago, most of whom have gone home before me, but whose information is valuable still—more valuable even for the lapse of time, as but for these letters, many interesting and important historical facts might have been lost forever.

It is however a comforting reflection, that though good and useful men must thus die, leaving but a slight trace of their work behind them, yet the churches which they loved and for which they labored may still live and grow like "a handful of corn in the earth, upon the top of the mountains; the fruit [whereof] shall shake like Lebanon; and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth."

In 1834 the population of Lower Canada was estimated at six hundred thousand, only one hundred and forty thousand of whom were Protestants; and that of Upper Canada at three hundred and twenty thousand, most of whom were Protestants. And among these hundreds of thousands were just six Congregational ministers.—*Reed & Matherson's Report to the Cong'l Union of England and Wales, in 1834.*

Upper Canada it found its way through the New England settlers; and into Quebec, through English soldiers, and English missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society.

Stanstead, a beautiful and fertile border town on "the line," opposite Derby, Vt., was originally settled by a few Congregational families from New Hampshire and Massachusetts, somewhere about 1790. Others of like faith slowly followed, until the new settlers felt strong enough to organize a religious society and begin public worship. This was done for the first time in 1798, the congregation then numbering about ten adults and as many children. Their first meeting place was Captain Israel Wood's log barn, and the first preacher was Rev. John Taplin. His successor was Rev. James Hobart, who preached to them and others in the neighborhood from 1804 to 1816, twelve years; and then assisted in organizing a Congregational church of twenty-one members in Stanstead. A large union meeting-house was built, with seats for fifteen hundred persons, and was occupied chiefly by the Congregationalists for several years, their congregations being large and their interests flourishing. An unfortunate disagreement on doctrinal points at length appeared in the church, while the Rev. Thaddeus Osgood was their pastor; which resulted in the withdrawal of a portion of the more strictly Calvinistic members from Mr. Osgood's ministry and from the church. This greatly weakened the church, and it was several years before

they again had a minister. Though subsequently favored with a succession of good ministers, the church gradually lost strength, and about 1854 the congregation at the Plain broke up and scattered, and their meeting-house was closed. But in 1856 the church was reorganized, under the auspices of the Canadian Missionary Society, and the Rev. John Rogers became their pastor in 1865, and so continued until 1872; a good degree of harmony existing in the church and of prosperity attending his ministry. In 1873 the number of communicants, according to the returns, was forty-three. At the same time, another Congregational church of sixty members was flourishing at Fitch Bay, in the immediate neighborhood of Stanstead Plain. The two are now united, and reported in 1876 sixty-seven church members.*

The first movements towards establishing Congregationalism in the ancient city of Quebec, the capital of Lower Canada, were made prior to the year 1800. In response to the application of a few religious soldiers then stationed at Quebec, the London Missionary Society sent out two missionaries to Canada in 1800. But, on reaching the city, they found that the regiment to which the pious soldiers were attached had been ordered to another station. One of these missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, went down to the Bay Chaleur,

* *Canadian Independent*, XIII, 282-86; *Year Books*, 1874-5, and 1876-7.

and labored for some three years with considerable encouragement and success. The other missionary, the Rev. Mr. Benton, decided to remain in Quebec and make an attempt to establish a Congregational church there, though the prospect was anything but encouraging. He accordingly took lodgings in the cottage of a friendly cooper, and began to preach the gospel to the few who would come to his room. The congregation gradually increased, until they were compelled to move to another and larger house. But this, in its turn, was found too strait, and the congregation moved to a still larger room, in the second story of a public house. This served their purpose for a while, but it soon became necessary to remove one partition after another, until the entire second story of the house was made a single room and was filled to overflowing. They were obliged then to engage a public hall.

In the meantime, during the summer of 1801, Mr. Benton, their minister, had organized a Congregational church of about forty members, and had obtained the usual register, authorizing him to perform all the appropriate work of the sacred ministry. This work he continued to do, with much success and acceptance, for several years, nearly supporting himself in the meantime by his fees as a medical practitioner. His success at length awoke the jealousy and opposition of influential parties, and, on the third year, his application for a register was denied, and he was forbidden to

attend to any of the functions of a Christian minister. Unable to get any redress for this discourteous and oppressive act of the authorities, Mr. Benton resorted to the press and exposed the injustice of the course against him and his people. For this he was prosecuted by the government, and fined and imprisoned. Notwithstanding the illegality of their course, the Canadian government continued to pursue this arbitrary and oppressive policy towards the Congregationalists until the passage of the Reform Bill in 1835. The church, however, had contrived to live and prosper, notwithstanding all embarrassments, and had the courage to build a meeting-house. But this last act proved a serious hindrance rather than help to their prosperity, for it involved them in debt. This, with the difficulty experienced in getting and keeping a suitable minister, discouraged them to such an extent that, on the removal of their pastor, the Rev. George Bourne, in 1829, and their failure, after repeated applications, to get a minister from England, the church at length was induced to sell out to the Kirk of Scotland and transfer their interests to her hands. But this was not an unanimous act; and in 1837 the remnant who still preferred the simple and apostolic church order of their fathers rallied and were formed into another Congregational church in the city of Quebec. A faithful and attractive minister was obtained, the Rev. Timothy Atkinson, and the church entered upon a new life. A site for a

new church edifice was secured, and ultimately a fine stone building was erected in Palace street, and publicly dedicated with appropriate religious services, in October, 1841. With seasons of depression, the general course of this church from that day to the present has been one of gradual increase and prosperity. Its membership in 1874-5 numbered eighty-one, and in 1876-7, ninety-four. Though by no means a large or wealthy church, it was yet free of debt and entirely self-sustaining.*

The town of Eaton, on the St. Francis river, twenty miles from the Vermont line, was settled early in the present century. On or before 1815, a Congregational church was formed in the township by the Rev. J. Taylor, a graduate of Middlebury College, Vt., and a licensed preacher. After laboring hard and faring hard as a pioneer preacher and teacher for about six years, he was tempted by the offer of two hundred pounds sterling a year to accept the incumbency of an Episcopal church in Eaton. This broke up the Congregational church, a part of the people following their pastor into the Episcopal fold, and another portion falling off to the Baptists. The few who could not conscientiously go in either of those directions remained as sheep without a shepherd until 1833, when nineteen of them were reorganized into a

* Dr. Wilkes' Hist. of the Ch'h in Quebec, in *Canadian Indep.*, XIII, 238-43; and *M.S. Letter* to the author; *Canadian Year Books*.

Congregational church by the Rev. A. J. Parker, who was then officiating in that vicinity. In 1837-1838 they were fortunate in securing the services of the Rev. Edwin J. Sherrill as their pastor, who remained with them until 1875, a faithful and successful laborer in the Lord's vineyard.*

A small Congregational church was formed at Southwold, Ontario County, about the year 1819, two years after the very first settlements were made in that almost unbroken wilderness. It was necessarily made up of a variety of materials—Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, and Baptists, as well as Congregationalists; and, as a consequence, took a name singularly expressive of its peculiar constituents—that of the "Congregational Presbyterian Prince of Peace Church." It was Congregational in its order, Presbyterian in doctrine (that is, it was Calvinistic), and its members professed to be followers of the Prince of Peace.

But this church, after a few years of prosperous life, being left without a pastor, fell in pieces, as might have been anticipated from its heterogeneous composition. But it was reorganized in 1842, and enjoyed a measure of prosperity for a number of years. The church was in existence as

* *Canadian Indep.*, XIII, 327-28; *Year Books*. The Rev. Mr. Parker says: "A church was formed in the township of Eaton, I think, previous to 1810, of which Rev. Mr. Taylor became pastor." — *MS. Letter*, 1840.

lately as 1871, had a pastor, and a membership of seventy souls.*

The first movement towards founding a Congregational church in Montreal was made by the Rev. Richard Miles, in the autumn of 1831. At the solicitation of several persons who were desirous of having a church of this order in Montreal, Mr. Miles, who had been a missionary of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, began his public ministry in Montreal in a hired school room, in October, 1831. So much success attended his labors, that it soon became necessary to move into larger quarters. And on the 6th of July, 1832, a Congregational church of fifteen members was organized on the following simple and comprehensive basis of union and fellowship: 1. "We, regarding each other as brethren and sisters in the Lord, do hereby form ourselves into a Christian church of the Congregational or Pædobaptist order, professing the doctrines of faith in unison with those contained in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and usually denominated Calvinistic. 2. We do hereby resolve, in the strength of Divine grace, to walk with each other as a Christian church, in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord."

The enterprise flourished, and soon outgrew the

* *Canadian Indep.*, xiv, 161-63; *Cong'l Quar.*, January, 1871. Southwold church is not reported by the *Canadian Year Book* of 1874-5.

new quarters prepared for its accommodation in the Mansion House, College street; and in February, 1835, the church was permitted to rejoice in the dedication of a neat and convenient chapel in St. Maurice street. In 1836 they had the pleasure of welcoming to their pulpit the Rev. Henry Wilkes, who is still (1880) the honored and beloved pastor of this church, which increased from fifteen members in 1832, to four hundred and fifty-six in 1874-5; while it has helped to establish two other Congregational churches by its side, and been a tower of strength to the cause throughout the Canadas. The united membership of the three Montreal churches in 1876-7 was five hundred and sixty persons.

The first Congregational church in Danville, in the township of Shipton, was formed November 11, 1832, and consisted of twelve male and twenty-three female members. The chief agent in God's hands in planting this church and in giving life and efficiency to other churches in the eastern townships was the Rev. Ammi J. Parker, who went into that region for his health in the autumn of 1828, and was induced to remain and labor there, and continued so to do for nearly or quite forty years, earning for himself the honorable distinction of being "the Apostle of the Congregational Churches in the Townships North of Stanstead and Eaton."* The church of Danville

* This useful and excellent pioneer Congregationalist was

enjoyed almost uninterrupted harmony and prosperity, without a change of pastorate, from the date of its organization to 1868, and I know not how much longer.

The American Revolution left the Congregationalists in all the British Provinces in a forlorn condition. Forsaken by their New England ministers on the breaking out of hostilities, it was a long time before the irritation between the English and Americans was sufficiently allayed to make the Provinces pleasant or desirable or even comfortable places for an American minister's residence. And it was almost as difficult to get English Congregational ministers to come to this country. Under these circumstances, the churches of our order in the British dominions were often reduced to the necessity of either living without a minister or of taking one of different denominational views from their own. And these ministers had not always magnanimity or delicacy enough to restrain them from attempts to subvert the ancient order of their churches. And, consequently, several of them were carried into other ecclesiastical relations, just as were very many of the old Congregational churches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. This was substantially the

living in Danville as lately as 1874-5, and was reported as the pastor of the Congregational church there as lately as 1868. — *Canadian Indep.*, xiii, 327.

state of things as lately as about 1840.* Since that time, however, a great and good work has been done in those Provinces, as well as in Canada, mainly by the instrumentality of the British Colonial Missionary Society. Old churches have been revived, and new churches organized; a Congregational Union for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick has been formed, and another for Ontario and Quebec; a Canadian Congregational Missionary Society also has been formed; a Congregational College founded, to train young men for the ministry; a Provident Fund Society, for the relief of the widows and orphans of deceased ministers, has been instituted; an Indian Missionary Society formed; and last, though not least, an efficient monthly periodical, "The Canadian Independent," has been established. These several

* There lies before me, as I write, a letter dated December 27, 1839, from an old and esteemed friend, the Rev. C. C. Beaman, chaplain in U. S. army, then stationed at Houlton, Me., just on the line of New Brunswick, in which it is written: "In New Brunswick there are two Congregational churches, viz.: one at Sheffield, and one at Keswick Ridge. [There was another at Cardigan.] The church at Sheffield was organized in 1764 [1762], and I believe the one at Keswick Ridge was born from it; but of this I am not certain. The Rev. Mr. ———, connected with the Scotch Kirk, is now preaching at Sheffield, and has hopes, I understand, of bringing the church into his connection. But this will be a difficult matter, as the members are very staunch."

The good Scotchman failed to convert this church to Presbytery, and it still lives and flourishes as a Congregational church. But every Congregational church in the Province was not so "staunch" as this.

organizations and institutions, together with the local district associations of ministers and churches all over the Provinces, furnish all the necessary machinery for promoting the vigorous life and usefulness of the Congregational churches in the British dominions of North America; and they have more than trebled the number of our churches in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—increasing them from six to twenty; and in Canada have done much more—increasing the number from seven, in 1834, and sixty-two in 1854, with a membership of two thousand seven hundred souls, to ninety-five churches in 1876, with a membership of five thousand seven hundred and fifty-six.

If we add to this statement, that there are now two churches of the same order on the island of Newfoundland and one at Cape Breton, with an aggregate membership of at least two hundred, we shall have to report for 1876–7 one hundred and seventeen Congregational churches in the British dominions of North America, with an aggregate membership of seven thousand two hundred and seventy persons.

This sketch of the rise and progress of Congregationalism in the British dominions of North America, confessedly imperfect as it is, cannot but interest every one who would know the history of the denomination on this continent.

Should the growth of these churches seem to any one to have been slow and irregular, he must

reflect that they have had to encounter obstacles, hindrances, and direct opposition from the people of the Provinces and from the government itself, such as we have never experienced in the United States. He must remember too that these churches were generally constituted of poor men, or of men in quite moderate circumstances; that for years they were isolated little bodies, with no ecclesiastical associations or conferences, no bond of general union, and no general organizations of any kind, to support and encourage them; and were often without pastors, and always more or less troubled to get pastors. Let these things be considered, and the wonder will be, not that so many fainted and died by the way or surrendered in despair to other and stronger organizations; but that so many have lived and grown, and spread their influence around them, in spite of all the hindrances, and opposition, and temptations to apostasy, to which they have been subjected for so long a time.

NOTE. In 1840 the Rev. Dr. Wilkes of Montreal, and the Rev. A. J. Parker of Danville—to both of whom I am greatly indebted for assistance in preparing this sketch of Congregationalism in Canada—furnished a list of churches of this order known to them at that date, in Upper and Lower Canada, with the number of communicants and the names of their pastors or ministers. I know not where else such a list can be found. It is valuable as a historical record, and very forcibly illustrates the allusion in the text above to the changes which the denomination has undergone in the course of thirty-six years.

The churches with a * are not found in the Canadian Year Book for 1877.

In 1840 there were the following Congregational churches and ministers and church members in Upper Canada :

<i>Churches.</i>	<i>Members.*</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>
* Barton . . . with 90 .		Rev. D. Dyer.
Brantford . . . " 25 .		" A. Lillie.
Burford and Oakland " 31 .		" J. Hall.
* Caledon . . . " 29 .		" H. Denny.
Cobourg . . . " 23 .		" W. Hayden.
* Darlington . . . " — .		" T. Mackin.
* Eramosa . . . " 28 .		" H. Denny.
* Equisin . . . " 29 .		" H. Denny.
Guelph . . . " 29 .		" W. P. Wastell.
Hamilton . . . " 36 .		" D. Dyer.
* Innisfield . . . " 13 .		" J. Clinie.
* Indian Lands . . . " — .		" A. W. McKillican.
Kingston . . . " 5 .		" T. Baker.
London . . . " 24 .		" W. Clarke.
* L'Original . . . " 21 .		" J. T. Byrne.
Toronto . . . " 76 .		" J. Roaf.

The churches and ministers in Lower Canada in 1840:

<i>Churches.</i>	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Ministers.</i>
* Compton . . . with 18 .		Rev. ———
Danville in Shipton " 64 .		" A. J. Parker.
* Durham . . . " — .		" D. Dunkerley.
Eaton . . . " 56 .		" E. J. Sherrill.
Granby and Abbotsford 45 .		" R. Miles.
* Hull . . . " — .		" ———
* Indian Village . . . " 26 .		" P. O'Shunkerhine.
Inverness . . . " — .		" W. Henry.
Montreal . . . " 110 .		" H. Wilkes.
Milbourne . . . " 53 .		" Joseph Andrews.
New Glasgow . . . " — .		" ———
* Philipsburg . . . " — .		" ———
* Potton . . . " 25 .		" M. P. Clark.
Quebec . . . " 40 .		" T. Atkinson.
* Russelltown . . . " 60 .		" ———
Sherbrooke . . . " 39 .		" J. Robertson.
* St. Andrews . . . " — .		" ———
Stanstead . . . " 52 .		" ——— Hall.

CHAPTER XX.

RESUME OF NEW ENGLAND HISTORY — IMMIGRATION TO 1640 —
CHURCHES PLANTED TO 1696 — EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS —
“BODY OF LIBERTIES” — THE MONETARY CRISIS OF 1640 —
THE INDIAN AND FRENCH WARS — EVIL OCCURRENTS — THE
QUAKER AND BAPTIST CONTROVERSIES — THE EPISCOPAL CON-
TROVERSY.

WE have now traced in outline the early history of Congregationalism in the original New England colonies and on Long Island and in New Jersey; have watched its struggles for life in the West Indies and in some of the Southern and Middle colonies; and have seen it taking root in the less genial soil, but among the more congenial surroundings of the British North American Provinces. But in doing this, we have overlooked much of general and denominational contemporaneous history which must be noticed, briefly at least, before we can intelligently follow the further migrations of the Congregationalists over the American continent.

From the arrival of Governor Winthrop's company in 1630, there was, for ten years, almost a continuous flow of immigrants to New England. In 1634 fifteen “great ships” arrived, filled with passengers. In 1635 twenty vessels came over, bringing nearly three thousand passengers, among

them eleven ministers. In 1636 there were fifteen great ships in Boston harbor at a time, all of which had brought passengers, some of them from two to three hundred. In August, 1638, Winthrop says: "There have come this summer twenty ships and at least three thousand persons." And he accounts for the ease with which the people got away from England — especially those of "good quality and estate" — by saying that "the Lord so awed the hearts of the officers of the custom-house and others who savour not religion, that they were quite ready to let men bring what they would without question. For they were amazed to see men of all conditions, rich and poor, servants and others, offering themselves so readily for New England, when, for furnishing of other plantations, they were forced to send about their stalls [decoys]; and when they had gotten any, they were forced to keep them as prisoners from running away." *

To sum up the story of early New England immigration, it may be said that between 1620 and 1640 about two hundred vessels were almost continually employed in transporting immigrants and their goods and provisions to New England; and that in the course of those twenty years they brought four thousand families, or about twenty-one thousand persons to our shores, at a money expense of three hundred thousand pounds sterling,

* *Winthrop's Journal*, i, 134, 266-68; *Hutchinson's Hist.*, i, 86.

or about four and a half millions of dollars at the present value of gold.*

And as to the moral and intellectual qualities of these immigrants, there can be but one opinion among well-informed men — that they were of a higher order than was ever before seen in an equal number of colonists. Among them were many persons of wealth and culture, education and refinement. The number of Cambridge and Oxford graduates among them was equal to at least one for every two hundred planters. Seventy-seven ministers and sixteen theological students — most of whom had graduated at one of the great universities of England — were among these immigrants; giving one educated minister to every two hundred and seventy-five persons; or, if we count the divinity students, one to every two hundred and twenty-seven immigrants; a statement which sufficiently indicates the character of the men who laid the broad foundations of Congregationalism in New England.

In the course of these ten years, between 1630–1640, the settlement of New England had become an assured event. Thousands of the best men and women of England had been colonized here; the dense forests had been made to give place to cultivated fields, and to orchards and gardens; thousands of cattle and sheep were grazing on the

* *Dummer's Defence of the New England Charters*, compared with *Hutchinson*, i, 93; *Winthrop*, ii, 331.

hills; roads and causeways and bridges had been constructed in every direction; ships in large numbers had been built, and "such a forme and face of a Commonwealth appeared in all the plantations, that strangers from other parts seeing how much is done in so few years greatly wondered at God's blessing on our endeavours." *

New England had indeed the smell of a field which the Lord had blessed. But this blessing on their basket and their store was not all nor the chief good which God had done for our fathers, nor that which they mainly sought in coming to this remote wilderness. It was "God in his ordinances" — to use their own words — freedom to worship God agreeably to his most holy will, revealed to them in his word — that they chiefly sought for in this costly, self-denying and hazardous colonization in the wilderness. And this they secured. For in the fifty towns and plantations which were flourishing in New England in 1640, there were between thirty and forty Congregational churches, all carefully organized and furnished with one or

* *New England's First Fruits*, p. 38. Published in London, A. D. 1643.

Johnson, in 1642, said that in Massachusetts there were "near a thousand acres of land planted for orchards and gardens . . . besides about fifteen thousand acres in tillage." The cattle he estimated at twelve thousand, and the sheep at three thousand. "All the wigwams, huts and hovels the English dwelt in at their first coming," he says, "the Lord hath been pleased to turn into orderly, fair, and well-built houses, well furnished, many of them." — *W. W. Providence*, pp. 172-208; *Holmes' Ann.*, I, 206.

more ministers, and most of them with meeting-houses.

In 1647—twenty-seven years from the first landing of the Pilgrims—forty-three Congregational churches had been planted in the five original New England colonies. In 1650 the number had increased to fifty-eight, containing an aggregate of about seven thousand seven hundred communicants. In 1674 there were eighty-two churches, of which twelve or thirteen were in Plymouth Colony, forty-seven in Massachusetts and the Province of New Hampshire, nineteen in Connecticut, three on Long Island, and one at Martha's Vineyard; all in a population of about one hundred and twenty thousand souls.*

To this summary of our early churches should be added the Indian towns which had yielded "obedience to the gospel." In 1674 there were in Massachusetts fourteen towns of "praying Indians," containing about eleven hundred souls; in Plymouth Colony, in 1685, there were over fourteen hundred adult praying Indians, and three times that number of Indian children under twelve years of age; at Martha's Vineyard there were at least three hundred Indian families—generally praying Indians—three Christian churches and ten Indian teachers; on Nantucket there were three towns and about three hundred adult Indians—many of

* *Emerson's Hist. First Ch'h in Boston*, p. 81; *Prince's Election Sermon*, A. D. 1700, p. 29; *Winthrop*, II, 331, note 1.

them praying persons — and one Christian church. The Bible had been translated into the language of the Indians, and the Psalms had been turned into metre for their use.*

In Connecticut, in 1680, there were twenty-six incorporated towns, and in every town, but two “newly begun,” “a settled minister;” there were also twenty-one organized Congregational churches. This gave one minister to about every ninety families, or every four hundred and fifty persons.†

In 1696 there were at least one hundred and thirty Congregational churches in all New England composed of white persons, and about thirty Indian churches supplied with an equal number of Indian preachers, in a population of about one hundred and forty thousand souls, twenty thousand of whom may have been Indians. Of this population the Province of Massachusetts Bay — which at that time included Plymouth Colony and Maine — had about seventy thousand Whites and Negroes and fifteen thousand Indians; Connecticut, thirty thousand Whites and Negroes, Rhode Island ten thousand, and the two colonies three thousand Indians. New Hampshire, at the same time, had ten thousand Whites and Negroes and

* *Gookin's Historical Collections of the N. E. Indians*, chapters vii-x inclusive. Written 1674. Published by Mass. Hist. Soc. in 1792. See also *Holmes' Ann.*, I, 364, 368; *Hubbard*, chap. lxxvi; *Am. Quar. Reg.*, IV, 198-204.

† *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, I, 493 —.

two thousand Indians. These are all estimates; but they cannot be far from the truth.*

EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS.

But besides planting churches and giving to these settlements in the wilderness the outward "forme and face of a commonwealth," the fathers of New England found much other work necessary, in order to make these commonwealths what their Christian ambition designed. Thus we are told by one of their own number: "After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government—one of the next things we longed for and looked after was, to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to

* It is one of the difficult problems of our history to ascertain the exact population of this country at any time previous to 1790, when the first general census was taken; and particularly of the Indians, who were forever on the move. Nor is it easy to determine exactly how many churches there were at any given time during the first century of our history. There was a general prejudice against numbering the people, derived from the account of David's disastrous numbering of Israel, 2 Sam. xxiv.

I reach the estimates in the text by comparing *Winthrop*, II, 331, note; *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, I, 348, 368; *Hutchinson's Collections*, 484; *Holmes*, I, 450, 471, 480; II, 537; *Bancroft's Hist. U. S.*, I, 92, 452 and note; *Magnalia*, II, 366-82; *Clark's Cong. Ch's Mass.*, 45, 50, 79, 108; *Tracy's Hist. Am. Missions*, 13-16; *Gookin's N. E. Indians*, 206, and chaps. vii, viii, and ix.

the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." *

As early as 1624 Plymouth Colony had established a school for children, and in 1635 we find it one of the conditions of apprenticeship, that the boy should be kept at school two years.† At a town meeting in Boston, April 13, 1634, "it was generally agreed upon, y^t o^r brother Pormont shall be intreated to become schoolmaster, for the teaching and nourtering of children wth v^s." And fifty pounds were raised for his support the first year, and the income of Deer Island was subsequently appropriated to the support of this school.‡ In October, 1636, the first movement was made by the General Court of Massachusetts towards founding "a school or a college," by the appropriation of four hundred pounds sterling. Subsequently the income of the ferry to Charlestown was devoted to the same use, together with an annual money appropriation of one hundred pounds. Then a peck of corn was called for from every church in the United Colonies, or twelve pence, towards the support of the college at Newtown; and then appeared

* *New England's First Fruits.*

† *Bradford's Hist. New Ply., anno 1624; Palfrey's Hist. New Eng.,* 11, 45.

‡ *Drake's History of Boston,* 182.

Pormont was a church member and freeman and school master in 1635. He was one of the eight church members who accompanied Wheelwright to Exeter.—*Farmer's Reg.; Belknap's Hist. N. H.,* 1, 19.

its greatest benefactor, the Rev. John Harvard, of Charlestown—in honor of whom the college was named—who, dying September 14, 1638, left half of his entire estate, between seven and eight hundred pounds, to the infant college.* In 1647 the General Court ordered that every township in Massachusetts having fifty householders should “forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read.” And every township of one hundred families was required to maintain a grammar school, where any one who pleased might be fitted for the university. At Hartford, a public school was established in 1640 and permanently endowed two years later, and a free school was set up at the public expense in New Haven Colony as early as 1642. The code of Connecticut in 1650, and of New Haven in 1656, provided for the instruction of all classes, and that the deficiencies of the poor should be supplied from the public purse. In 1653 Plymouth adopted measures to have a schoolmaster in every town in the colony.† As early as 1654 a colonial grammar school, to prepare youth for college, was projected in New Haven, and the Rev. Mr. Davenport proposed the institution of a college, for which the town made a donation of lands.

* *First Fruits*; *Winthrop*, 1, 265; 11, 67–8, 216; *Hutchinson*, 1, 90; *Holmes*, 1, 247.

† *Pitkin's Civil and Political History of the U. S.*, 1, 151 —.

About 1654 the ministers and leading men of New Haven and Connecticut colonies began to feel that they needed a college more accessible to them than was Cambridge; and appropriations were made by the different towns, first for a grammar school, and then for a college.

In 1656 Governor Hopkins made a donation of four or five hundred pounds to the college; and the assembly erected it into an institution for teaching "the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and for fitting youth for public service in church and commonwealth. This college, however, finally settled down into a public grammar school, which is still maintained in New Haven. In 1659 the legislature of Connecticut was induced to make appropriations towards founding a college. The enterprise, however, failed for the time. But after the union of the New Haven and Connecticut colonies, in 1665, the project of a college was revived, and finally consummated in 1700 and 1701 by the selection of trustees, and by the incorporation of the institution subsequently known as Yale College.*

In 1713 and 1721 Elihu Yale, a native of New Haven, though then residing abroad, made generous donations of some three hundred and forty volumes of books and about four hundred pounds sterling in money, towards the college in his native place, which in 1718 was named Yale College in

* *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, 1, 305-6, 498, 518, and Appendix, 21.

commemoration of its generous benefactor. The two brothers, Jeremiah and William Dummer, of Boston, were also generous helpers in the same direction; the elder was a liberal benefactor of Yale College, and William, the Lieutenant-Governor, was the founder, in 1763, of that most ancient of existing New England academies, Dummer Academy, in Byfield, Massachusetts. The two brothers Phillips, John and Samuel, were founders, in 1777-1780, of those ancient and still most celebrated classical schools, Phillips Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire, and Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. And Nicholas Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, a Baptist, besides giving liberally to other institutions, was the most munificent benefactor of the college which bears his name. And there was, too, the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, the founder of Moor's Indian charity school in Lebanon, Conn., in 1754, which was subsequently removed to Hanover, N. H., and connected with Dartmouth College, which was incorporated in 1769.

These, with other like efforts of a private as well as a public character, illustrate quite clearly the interest felt by the early New England colonists in the promotion of good learning of the highest attainable character.

It was not, however, by means of schools and colleges alone that the fathers sought the enlightenment of the people of this country; for among the educational movements of the pre-revolutionary period must not be omitted the founding of a

printing office at Cambridge, in 1639-40, and the erection of the first printing press ever seen in British North America. The first thing printed was the Freeman's Oath, the next an Almanac, and the third, the Psalms Newly Turned into Metre — the Bay Psalm Book as it is called — the first book ever printed in this country. And it was very well printed, too, and fair copies of it may still be found in some of our public libraries, and in the hands of our noted bibliophiles. And from that day to the present the press has continued to be one of the chief educational agencies in this country. It began to develop its power in the newspaper as early as 1690, when was published in Boston, September 25, a four-page sheet — eleven inches by seven — entitled *Publick Occurrences, Foreign and Domestic*. This was designed to be a monthly publication, but was speedily suppressed by the Provincial government, for "the reflections of a very high nature" which it contained. In 1704 came out the first number of the *Boston News Letter*, a weekly sheet, which was followed by the *Boston Gazette*, in 1719; and by the *New England Courant* in 1721; by the *New England Weekly Journal* in 1727; and by the *Rhode Island Gazette*, in 1732; by the *Boston Weekly Post Boy*, in 1734; and by the *Independent Advertiser* in 1748, a Revolutionary sheet, in which Samuel Adams, Rev. Jonathan Mayhew and others were interested; and in 1755, by the *Boston Gazette*, another Revolutionary paper; and by the

Connecticut Gazette and by the *New Hampshire Gazette* in 1756. In 1743 came out that invaluable religious periodical, *The Christian History*. These were all important instrumentalities in educating the people of New England; and their influence was felt all over the American colonies, where newspapers were early established, so that between 1690 and 1781 no less than sixty-three newspapers had been established in this country, forty-three of which survived to the close of the Revolution.*

THE BODY OF LIBERTIES.

It has been truly and forcibly said that he who would understand a people must know their laws, especially their penal laws, and their scheme of judicial administration; for these are so many living illustrations of the wisdom and forethought and justice and humanity of those who frame and interpret and abide by these laws.† Let us inquire, then, about the early laws of New England.

For a number of years after the settlement of Massachusetts, the colony had no positive, written, statute laws. And the same was true of the other

* See Mr. Frederic Hudson's long and valuable article on *Journalism* in *Johnson's Encyclopædia*; Holmes mentions most of the papers enumerated above, in his *Annals*, under their respective years.

† "The Criminal Code of the Jews," a series of very able articles from *Pall Mall Gazette*, London; republished in *Littell's Living Age*, beginning November 22, 1879.

New England colonies. Magna Charta and the Common Law of England and the moral laws of Moses were acknowledged as general authorities. But the prevailing conviction was that the statute laws of England could not be administered and should not be recognized in this country, the circumstances and condition of the people here being so utterly unlike those of the English people. Acting on this conviction, the fathers of New England early adopted principles and settled on customs and practices which made these colonies more like independent bodies-politic than merely chartered companies or corporations such as their original charters contemplated.* The Massachusetts charter, for example, provided simply for a corporation government, like that of the East India Company. But Governor Winthrop and his associates had scarcely inaugurated this government before it began to assume and exercise the functions of an independent commonwealth.

"The Great and General Court," which consisted of the governor, the deputy governor, eighteen assistants, and at first of all the freemen of the colony, and afterwards of their representatives, "the deputies," was the supreme law-making body and the highest judicial tribunal of the colony, answering to the English Parliament.

* *Book of General Laws and Liberties of Plymouth Colony*, preface; *Daylies' Ply. Col.*, 1, chap. xi; 11, chap. ii; *Trumbull's Conn.*, 1, 85-103; *Brigham's Colony of New Plymouth and its Relation to Massachusetts*.

Next to this was the Assistants' Court, composed of the governor, deputy governor and the assistants. This took cognizance of the more important causes that were not carried to the General Court. Then came the County Courts, which were held by single magistrates, aided by five commissioners taken from the freemen of the county in which the court was held. Besides these tribunals, there were Strangers' or Merchants' Courts, for the accommodation of transient visitors, held at any time, at the request of a stranger who had business for them. There were, too, courts like our modern Justice Courts, and courts which took cognizance of military matters solely.

Such was the judicial system of colonial Massachusetts, and substantially that of the other colonies. And who can say that this was not an orderly, efficient and very complete system for the times in which it originated and the people for whom it was devised? As to the laws administered by these several tribunals — except so far as the moral laws of the Bible and the common law of England could be applied — they were rather written in the hearts of the judges than in any statute book. There were, to be sure, well-settled customs and practices which gradually came to be recognized as laws; but, after all, the good sense and sound judgment and honest purpose of the judges and juries to decide every question according to equity and justice and Christian principle

were in the place of all written law. The magistrates and ministers knew full well that any code of laws which would satisfy the people at large would be regarded in England as inconsistent with the charter of the colony. But so long as their laws were unwritten and the administration of justice in the colony was rather a matter of practice and custom than of formal ordination, any inconsistency with English statute law might escape notice. The magistrates and elders therefore were not forward to have any written code promulgated. But the common people were uneasy and "thought their condition very unsafe while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates." So, as early as May, 1635, this matter was brought to the attention of the General Court, and it was agreed that "a body of grounds of laws in resemblance to a Magna Charta" should be framed; and Mr. Cotton and some other ministers were requested to assist some of the magistrates in doing this. In October, 1636, Mr. Cotton presented "A model of Moses, his judicials, compiled in exact order." This failing to satisfy the court, other committees were appointed; and the freemen of the several towns were requested to meet and suggest the heads of such laws as they judged needful, and the Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich was requested to draw up another model of colonial laws. In 1638 Mr. Ward's draft and Mr. Cotton's, with sundry suggestions from other quarters, were

digested, and copies sent to all the towns for consideration. Another committee then reconsidered the whole matter, and made still another draft and sent that to all the elders of the churches and to the freemen of the colony. And now, at length, in 1641, after six years' deliberation, the Court accepted and adopted this most carefully considered New England Magna Charta, under the title of the "Body of Liberties"—but only then for three years, on trial. At the expiration of that time, the laws were somewhat further amended, and then adopted as the perpetual laws of the colony. But they were not allowed to be printed until 1649, when the state of affairs in England made it safe.*

This was the first code ever framed and written and published in New England, and was the

* *Winthrop*, i, 202, 257, 322-3; ii, 55; *Colonial Records in Gray*, 205, 207-8, 209-15.

The laws of Plymouth Colony were not even written out for the use of the several towns until 1658, and were not printed until 1672. — *Baylies' Hist. Plym.*, ii, chap. ii.

The laws of Connecticut remained in manuscript until 1672, when they were printed. Previously, copies had been written out and sent to the several towns. It can hardly be necessary to say to any reader of these pages that what are stigmatized as the "Blue Laws of Connecticut" were the unscrupulous inventions of a graceless Episcopal minister, the Rev. Samuel Peters, in retaliation for the rough treatment received at the hands of the Connecticut people, for his obstinate and aggressive toryism and shameless falsehoods. — See *Trumbull's True Blue Laws of Conn. and New Haven*, etc., etc., 391-308; *Palfrey's Hist. New Eng.*, ii, 31-32 and note 1.

general model for all the colonies. In Massachusetts it has been constantly regarded in all subsequent codifications of our laws, and it richly deserves this respect. It is methodical in arrangement, and though brief, is clear and comprehensive in statement, and eminently pure and liberal in its whole tone. It respects the lives, liberties, rights and privileges of all classes — men, women, children, servants, and the stranger in the land. It cares even for brutes, as did the laws of Moses. Very competent authority has said, that “though the Body of Liberties retains some strong traces of the times in which it was framed, it is yet in the main far in advance of them, and in several respects in advance of the Common Law of England at this day [1842]. It shows that our ancestors, instead of deducing all their laws from the books of Moses, established at the outset a code of fundamental principles, which, taken as a whole, for wisdom, equity, adaptation to the wants of their community, and a liberality of sentiment superior to the age in which it was written, may fearlessly challenge a comparison with any similar production, from Magna Charta itself to the latest Bill of Rights that has been put forth in Europe or America.”*

* *Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts Bay, etc.* By Francis Calley Gray, LL.D., A. S. S., S. H. S. Published by the Mass. Hist. Soc., series iii, vol. viii, pp. 191-99.

Mr. Trumbull, in *Lechford's Plain Dealing*, suggests that Lechford, who copied the laws for the use of the government, and

Should the question now arise, "What has all this to do with the history of Congregationalism in America?" the answer is—much, every way; chiefly because the men who framed these laws, and for an entire generation successfully administered them, were all Congregationalists; for not until after 1662 was any man allowed to participate in the government of either Massachusetts or Connecticut who was not a member of a Congregational church. If, then, any men deserve the credit of having framed, in 1635–1639, the best body of fundamental laws that the world had seen since the days of Moses, it belongs to the Congregationalists of Massachusetts.

THE MONETARY CRISIS OF 1640.

The first twenty years of New England colonization were, on the whole, years of great and continuous prosperity. There were, to be sure, hardships, hindrances, and discouragements to be encountered—some of them very serious ones; yet they were bravely met and surmounted by the good men who laid the foundations of these colonies.

The first absolute check to our colonial progress

prepared "breviats of propositions" to be sent to the towns—may be entitled to some credit for the technical accuracy of the Body of Liberties. But Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, who made the original draft of this code, or one of the drafts, was an educated lawyer, and had practised in the English courts before he became a minister.

and prosperity, and the most alarming crisis in our affairs, occurred in 1640. And it came with a sudden and overwhelming violence—like a bolt of lightning from a cloudless sky, smiting the churches and the plantations with a paralysis which threatened ruin and death to all. And strange to say, this fearful crisis was the result of the triumph in England of the very principles which had built up New England. This was a terrible monetary crisis, and it came—as most others ever since have come—from speculation and overtrading—from making haste to be rich. The speculation of that period was not in stocks and bonds, but in cattle; though this naturally led to land speculation—to a desire to “lay field to field”—and prompted to the emigration of whole churches and villages to uninhabited regions where unlimited acres could be had, on which to raise cattle, to the neglect of everything else; so that when the crash came, there were in these eastern colonies three times as many cattle as there were sheep—twelve thousand cattle and four thousand sheep—and more than half as many cattle as there were men, women, and children here, who did not exceed twenty-one thousand souls.

The temptation to raise cattle, to the neglect of every other industry, was indeed very great; for a good cow readily sold for twenty or even thirty pounds sterling, and a farmer could ordinarily clothe his whole family with what a single cow would bring him.

But when immigration ceased, the inflow of silver ceased, and a terrible reaction followed. Prices of cattle and of everything else fell with a crash to one sixth and even to one tenth of what they had been; and six or even four pounds would buy as good a cow as twenty or thirty pounds would buy before the panic. So alarming indeed was this monetary crisis, that in October, 1640, the General Court of Massachusetts had to enact, that corn and rye and wheat should be lawful tender for new debts, at four, five, and six shillings a bushel; and that in satisfaction of executions for old debts, the property of the debtor should be fairly appraised by three disinterested persons, and the creditor should be obliged to take the property at the appraisal.*

This sudden and calamitous revulsion in the prosperous career of New England, which would have been fatal to most young colonies, only stunned and staggered the Pilgrims and Puritans. They had been too thoroughly schooled in adversity to despair readily under any complication of difficulties. And besides, some of the wiser and more cautious among them had foreseen this reaction and had been preparing themselves and giving cautionary advice to friends and neighbors. Their suggestions were readily received after the crisis

* See on this whole subject *Bradford's History of New Plymouth*, pp. 302-4, 365-6, 376; *Winthrop's Jour.*, 11, 7, 31; *Hutchinson*, 1, 93.

came, if not before, and new channels of industry and diversified employments were immediately sought out by the people. More attention was given to trade and manufactures, to the fishing and lumber business, and a greater variety of crops was cultivated. Hemp and flax were more extensively raised, flocks were multiplied for wool, and cloth of wool and of flax and of tow was manufactured for domestic use. Trade with the West Indies for cotton was opened, and this, with the fishing business, created a demand for shipbuilding, and many vessels—some of three and four hundred tons' burden—were built for domestic and foreign service. Thus this sore calamity which threatened utter ruin to these colonies was made to work together for good to this people, by throwing them more entirely on their own resources and teaching them to live within themselves.*

* In 1643, *Winthrop* wrote: "Our supplies from England failing much, men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof we had store from Barbadoes, and of hemp and flax, wherein Rowley, to their great commendation, exceeded all other towns."—Vol. II, 119-20. Rowley was settled in 1639 by about sixty pious Yorkshire families, many of whom were clothiers. They built a fulling mill at Rowley, employed their children in spinning cotton-wool, and were the first people who attempted to make cloth in New England.—*Holmes' Ann.*, I, 255. And in 1646: "It pleased God so to prosper our fishing this season, as that at Marblehead only they had taken by the midst of the (11) month about four thousand pounds' worth of fish." So said Governor Winthrop.

Another great good which came out of this fearful crisis was the final consummation of the union of the colonies for amity, offence and defence, and for mutual advice and assistance. For several years previous to this, the colonists had been discussing this important movement; but their extreme jealousy of their own respective rights and liberties had prevented any agreement. But now the "sad distractions in England" which followed this crisis in America cut off the colonies from all dependence on the mother country, and compelled them to combine for mutual support and defence, "with one and the same end and aim," as they declared, "namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity, with peace." *

This union of the colonies, consummated May 19-29, 1643, was of the greatest political value to them. It promoted harmony, it gave them strength to deal with the Indians, and respectability abroad. It was maintained for more than forty years (from 1643 to 1686), and died only with the old charter governments. At the time of the confederation, the four original colonies contained about twenty-four thousand souls, and at its close probably three times as many, at least.†

* *Winthrop*, 11, 101-106; *Frothingham's Rise of the Republic*, 39-44.

† In 1696 there were, according to President Stiles, one hundred thousand souls in New England, and one hundred and thirty Congregational churches. — *Holmes*, 1, 459 and note.

This union of the colonies was a natural and easy arrangement for men familiar with Congregational church government, which freely employed councils and synods to aid individual churches in cases of doubt and difficulty; and no doubt encouraged, if it did not suggest, at a later day, the confederation of all the American colonies, and finally the union of the States. Indeed, our entire civil government, from the earliest period to the present time, owes much more to the principles and authorized practice of the Congregational system than has been generally recognized and acknowledged. The covenant made on board the Mayflower at Cape Cod; the "plantation covenants" adopted by our colonies and settlements in starting, and which often served them for long periods as their only civil and religious guides in connection with the Bible; the old town meetings, with their moderators and clerks—the very names of our church officers when business is to be transacted; the union and confederation of the colonies, and finally the United States of America—all grew easily and naturally out of Congregationalism.

Men more flippant than considerate have been pleased to call Congregationalism "a rope of sand." A rope of sand indeed! Sand or silk—or whatever men please to call it—it was strong enough to draw four thousand Christian families from the comforts of civilized and cultured life, across the ocean, to a home in the wilderness; and

then to bind them up into churches and settlements, so firmly that they were able to triumph over difficulties which would have broken in pieces any other kind of organizations which the world ever saw. If Congregationalism, which did all this for New England, was a rope of sand, it was sand fused and compacted into a granite band.

THE INDIAN AND FRENCH WARS.

There is another phase of our colonial history which must be noticed if we would understand and appreciate fully the character and the doings of our Congregational fathers; namely, their many wars and much hard fighting. The popular and prejudiced representation of the fathers of New England is, that they were a set of praying and psalm-singing, narrow-minded bigots, with nothing that was noble or manly in their characters. They were — as nobody can deny — a praying and a psalm-singing people; but they were, too, as manly and brave and fearless a set of men as ever faced a foe, whether man or devil. They could endure hardness as good soldiers, for their king and their country, their altars and their hearths, as well as the best men that ever fought. And, sadly enough, they were forced to do a great deal of fighting before the permanent peace and prosperity of the country could be secured. First came the Indian Wars, then the French and Indian, then the great struggle with

the French for this country, and finally the Revolutionary War for American independence.

Both principle and policy urged the first settlers of New England to maintain peaceful relations with the Indians of this country. We must, therefore, be slow to believe that they ever intentionally provoked a war with them, but rather that they did honestly strive in their intercourse with the Indians to live up to the inspired injunction: "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." But with all their care, they could not always avoid the jealousy nor escape the hostility of the savages, who repeatedly planned the utter destruction of the white settlements, and several times made vigorous and well-nigh successful attempts to carry out their deadly purposes.

The first great Indian War was in 1636, with the Pequots, the most numerous and warlike of the New England tribes. It was a short but fierce and merciless war, which called forth the united strength of the colonies, and ended in a terrible battle, in which five or six hundred Pequots were slaughtered and their power broken forever.*

The next and much the most serious war was begun by King Philip, a bold, crafty and implacable enemy of the English. He had planned a simultaneous rising of the Indians all over the country, with a view to the utter and immediate

* *Drake's Book of the Indians*, bk. ii, pp. 101-116; *Mather's Magnalia*, 11, bk. vii.

extirpation of the Whites. After years of plotting and preparation, the war opened in 1675, somewhat prematurely for the Indians, and was carried on with extreme violence on either side for a year and a half; at the end of which time six hundred New England colonists had been killed, thirteen towns in Massachusetts, Plymouth and Rhode Island had been utterly destroyed, and many others greatly injured; six hundred houses had been burned, and nearly every family in the three colonies was in mourning.* And this was not all. For, though Philip was killed and his warriors and immediate supporters were either dead or dispersed abroad, yet by his machinations he had stirred up the eastern tribes to make war on the settlements, with the same design which had actuated him; and all through the century, and far into the eighteenth century, there was but little rest to those settlements, or indeed to the country generally.† And after the French in Nova Scotia and Canada, under the influence of their Jesuit missionaries, had openly espoused the cause of the Indians against the English, it became a struggle for the maintenance of the Protestant

* Increase Mather says that as early as 1662 "there were vehement suspicions of his [Philip's] bloody treachery against the English." — *Drake*, bk. iii, p. 17. These suspicions were confirmed by Philip's warlike preparations about 1671. — *Ib.*, 18.

† *Baylies' Mem. Ply. Col.*, pt. iii, 1-187; *Magnalia*, ii, bk. vii, ch. vii; *Steward's History of America and the Most Remarkable Engagements with the Indians*, pp. 27-28; *Drake*, bk. iii, p. 23.

religion, as well as for their personal safety, on the part of the New England colonists. Between 1689 and 1698 not less than sixty different attacks were made by the French and Indians, or the Indians alone, on the settlements in the eastern part of New England; in the course of which at least five hundred and sixty-six white persons were killed or captured, and the most inhuman cruelties were perpetrated upon them.* And this was only a prelude to the more terrible events which followed. The 10th of August, 1703, was emphatically "a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness"—such a day as this country had never before experienced. On that day the eastern Indians simultaneously attacked the English settlements all along the coast from Casco Bay to Wells, a distance of not less than fifty miles, and the whole country was in a conflagration. No house was left standing, no garrison unattacked.†

These continued harassing and destructive Indian depredations at length brought the New England people and the English government to the conclusion that the only way to destroy the power of the Indians for evil was to strike boldly and

* *Belknap* (*Hist. N. H.*, 1, 144-5) gives a list of the places attacked in Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. See also *Hutchinson*, 11, 113; *Penhallow*, 23-53, *et passim*; *Trumbull*, 11, 78.

† *Penhallow*, p. 27.

directly at the power behind the savages, which furnished them with the means for making war and stimulated them to deeds of savagery—the French in Canada and Nova Scotia.

And now began a series of expensive and exhausting military expeditions to Canada and Nova Scotia, in coöperation with English troops and ships, which continued with varying success from about 1706–7, to September 6, 1760, when Montreal was taken and the French power in all northern and eastern America was forever broken, and with it that of their savage allies.*

Between 1675, when Philip's war began, and 1713, when a temporary peace was made with the eastern Indians, New England lost between five and six thousand men, chiefly middle-aged and young. At the close of that war Maine was a desolation for one hundred miles along the coast: the settlements had been broken up, the houses burned, the fields desolated, the families killed or

* *Penhallow's Indian Wars*, *passim*; *Hutchinson*, I, 273–310; II, 273–87; *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, II, chap. v; *Belknap's Hist. New Hamp.*, I, chap. v.

Hutchinson (II, 198) says that in 1717 Massachusetts had been at war with the eastern Indians, except some short intervals, for about forty years. And *Bollan*, the agent of the Province, in his petition to Parliament, stated that in the course of sixty years Massachusetts had been at greater expense and had lost more of its inhabitants in these French and Indian Wars than all the other colonies upon the continent taken together. — *Holmes*, II, 33, n. 1. *Penhallow* estimated the cost of every Indian killed or captured in the war which ended in 1707 at about one thousand pounds to the colonies. — 53; *Trumbull*, II, 78.

carried into captivity or scattered abroad, and all marks of civilization effaced.*

The disastrous effects of these wars on the growth and prosperity of the churches of New England — particularly of Massachusetts — can hardly be overestimated. The taxes were enormously increased, and the people were so much impoverished, and the settlement of the country so retarded, that in 1763 Massachusetts could show no advance in population and wealth for ten entire years. When we learn that in the course of eighteen years (1693–1711) no less than fifty distinct applications were made to the General Court of Massachusetts by impoverished churches, for pecuniary aid to sustain the institutions of religion in their respective towns, and when we learn that the court — always most careful of their expenditures — actually appropriated a thousand pounds for the relief of these applicants, we may be sure that there was deep and wide-spread impoverishment in the churches and the towns of the old commonwealth.†

These long-continued and expensive Indian and French Wars were perhaps the greatest hindrance to progress encountered by the New England churches and settlements for an entire century and more. And the survival of these Christian

* *Hutchinson*, II, 201; *Palfrey*, IV, 287, 325.

† *Clark's Historical Sketches of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts*, 8, 9, 16, 17, and notes.

settlements and churches through this entire period testifies most strongly to the inherent vitality and indomitable energy, enterprise, courage and piety of our people.*

Thirty-eight new churches were gathered in Massachusetts between 1710 and 1720, and thirty-five between 1720 and 1730; and between 1730 and 1750—the notable era of the great awakening—no less than ninety new Congregational churches were formed in Massachusetts. But during the great and final struggle for Protestant and English supremacy in North America, the absorption of the public mind was so great—the ministers and churches being foremost in the contest—that but sixteen new churches were organized in the course of ten years, 1756–1766.

EVIL OCCURRENTS.

THE QUAKER AND BAPTIST CONTROVERSIES of the period now under consideration must certainly be classed among what Cotton Mather calls "*ecclesiarum prælia*" and the "evil and uncomfortable occurrents" of the day. They undoubtedly were very prejudicial to the interests of the churches and to the cause of evangelical religion in their day, and are still the occasion of much popular prejudice against the fathers of New England. For this reason they demand a more careful consideration than can be given in this summary of

* See *Dr. Stiles' Convention Sermon*, April, 1760.

our early history; and what the author has to say on these topics, and on the Episcopal controversy of a somewhat later date, beyond a bare statement of a few leading facts, must be deferred for the present.

The Puritans of Massachusetts began their opposition to Quakerism as early as October, 1654, when by order of court sundry Quaker books which had just arrived in the colony were burned in the market place. It was not, however, until July, 1656, that the first Quakers arrived in this country from Barbadoes, and were arrested, examined, ordered to depart the colony, and sent away with all convenient despatch. But in August, eight others were here, abusing the ministers and magistrates as "hirelings and seed of the serpent," etc. In October, on the recommendation of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Massachusetts passed a severe law against these intruders, including among its penalties, fines, whipping, imprisonment and reshipment of Quakers. But this law, not answering the end contemplated, in 1658 was so amended that for a Quaker to return after banishment subjected him to the penalty of death. Yet even this law did no more to keep these troublesome people out of the colony than did the previous milder ones. Four obstinate offenders were made to suffer the extreme penalty of this law; and then it was broken down by the force of public opinion, which refused to sanction any more such violent dealings even with such exasperating

offenders as were the early Quakers, and the magistrates had to submit to the triumph of Quaker obstinacy over Puritan sternness.

We are not called upon to justify or defend the fathers for all that they did in opposition to Quakerism, any more than we are to apologize for the violent language and indecent conduct of the early Quakers; though it is as easy to do one as the other of these things. It was a harmful, miserable business all around; discreditable to the Puritans as it was disgraceful to the Quakers.*

THE BAPTIST CONTROVERSY in New England, though far less violent than that with the Quakers, and unattended with any persecution to be compared with what they experienced, yet has left a prejudice against the fathers of New England more extensive, if not deeper, than almost anything which they ever did. The reason is, that the Baptists who suffered from the Puritans were not only our own citizens, but many of them were members of our own churches. And had they continued in the Congregational churches, quiet and unobtrusive in the maintenance of their peculiar views, and not sought to make divisions and

* The reader will find an admirable summary of the Quaker and Baptist controversies in a recent publication, entitled: "*As to Roger Williams and His Banishment from the Massachusetts Plantation; with a few further words concerning the Baptists, the Quakers, and Religious Liberty.*" A Monograph, by Henry Martyn Dexter, D.D."

to form new churches which disfellowshipped the old churches, the Baptists might have remained unmolested to this day, as they had from the first planting of Congregationalism in New England.

The first particular mention of Baptists—or Anabaptists, as the fathers called them—in New England is found in connection with Mr. Roger Williams and his settlement at Providence, in 1638. And the first act of persecution for the manifestation of antipedobaptist opinions occurred about January, 1638, when an attempt was made to form a Baptist church at Weymouth, for which six men, chief movers in the undertaking, were fined, disfranchised or threatened. In 1644 Thomas Painter, of Hingham, was whipped for preventing his wife, who was a church member—which he was not—from bringing their infant child to the ordinance of baptism, and for his “obstinacy and very loose behaviour.”*

But Painter seems to have been only one of many persons by whom Baptist sentiments were entertained. For in the autumn of 1644, the General Court thought it necessary to pass an order for banishing such as continued obstinate in this belief and corresponding conduct, after due conviction. But this law was a dead letter on the statute book until about July, 1651, when an arrest was made at Swampscott, of John Clarke and John Crandall, of Rhode Island, and of

* *Winthrop*, 1, 287-9; 11, 174-5.

Obadiah Holmes, of Newport, for holding a Baptist meeting in William Witter's house, on Sunday morning. They were sent to Boston jail, and Holmes was whipped — preferring that to paying a fine — and they were all ordered out of the colony. This was the only case in which corporal punishment was inflicted on a Baptist church member, and this was the utmost extent to which the law against them ever went. Many indeed were subsequently fined, and imprisoned and troubled for not paying their fines, and others were sent out of the colony; while numbers were dealt with by the churches with which they were connected, for offensive manifestations of their peculiar views, rather than for their Baptist sentiments simply. Still, the fire burned, and the Baptists increased, and in 1665 a Baptist church — the first in Massachusetts — was formed in the house of Thomas Gould, of Charlestown, in spite of all that the magistrates or churches could do; and this church ultimately became the First Baptist Church of Boston.

In 1668 a public discussion was afforded eight Baptists with six Congregationalists, with a result as indecisive as such disputations usually are. After about 1670 there was little or no persecution of Baptists in the colony, the Congregationalists becoming sick of the unprofitable and unchristian business; and in 1679 the Baptists were suffered to build a meeting-house in Boston, which, after some show of opposition from the magistrates, they were finally allowed to occupy in peace; and

in March, 1681-2, the Massachusetts authorities authorized their agents in England to inform the king that the Anabaptists were subject to no other penal statutes than those of the Congregational way.

Thus at length was finished a contest which had been a disturbing element in New England society for an entire generation. It marred the peace and the prosperity of the churches at the time, and has left a sub-acute irritation in the minds, if not in the hearts, of a great Christian denomination, which the millennium alone will thoroughly eradicate.*

THE EPISCOPAL CONTROVERSY of this period — though not of this alone — must be noticed; for it was of longer continuance and of greater moment to the people of New England than any

* These data have been gathered from a variety of sources, *Winthrop, Mather, Backus, Benedict* and others, but most of them may be found in *Dr. Dexter's Monograph*.

While these pages were going through the printer's hands, the First Baptist Church in Boston celebrated (March 21, 1880) the two hundredth anniversary of the opening of the church doors, which had been closed by order of the Councill, 8th March, 1680, the following notice being posted on the doors:

"All P^{sons} are to take notice y^t by orde of y^e Court y^e dores of this hovse are Shutt vp, & y^t they are Inhibited to hold any meeting therein or to open y^e doors thereof, without liahence from Authority till y^e gennerall Court take further order as they will answer y^e Company att theire P^{ll}. dated in boston 8th March 1680

by orde of y^e Councell

EDWARD RANSON, *Secretary.*"

other that had preceded it, with perhaps a single exception—the Antinomian controversy. Not, however, because it involved fines or imprisonments, or corporal sufferings; but because it was thought to involve the whole question of the civil and religious rights and liberties of the people.

From the earliest period of our history to the very dawn of the American Revolution, Episcopacy in some form was the *bête noire*—the evil spectre—that haunted the New England colonists. Episcopacy drove the Pilgrims to this wilderness; Episcopacy, more than anything else, kept away from the waiting and praying and longing church in this wilderness their beloved pastor, John Robinson; Episcopacy came over to Plymouth in 1623, in the persons of Captain Robert Gorges, “General Governor of the Countreie,” and the Rev. William Morrell, his chaplain, who had “power and authoritie of superintendencie over other churches granted him, and sundrie instructions for that end.” And in 1634 it was given out in England that a bishop and governor-general were to be sent over to this country, to enforce on New England “the yoke of our ceremonies and admixtures.”* And Sir Ferdinando Gorges, it seems, was actually nominated at that time to the high office; and he was to take with him a thousand British soldiers to enforce his commands, and an Episcopal bishop and a retinue of

* *Bradford's Hist. New Ply.*, 154, 329, note.

under officials, to establish the Church of England here. A large ship was actually built to take this unwelcome company to New England. It was one of Archbishop Laud's bold undertakings; but was defeated by the providential breaking in pieces of the great "strong, new built ship in the very launching." The troubles which befell Laud and his royal master soon after this gave them enough to think of without meddling further with this scheme for establishing Episcopacy and a governor-general in these colonies. But it was not abandoned — we may say was never abandoned — by the English Church and State while there was the slightest chance of carrying it out.

In 1660 and in 1664 and in 1674 the project was revived and agitated; and when the notorious Edward Randolph began his evil career in this country, in 1677, and when, especially, Sir Edmund Andros arrived in New England, commissioned by James II as governor of New England, captain-general and vice-admiral of New York and the Jerseys, in 1686, and began his arbitrary and tyrannical career, it seemed very likely that Laud's vision was about to be realized. Andros organized an Episcopal parish in Boston and erected the first Episcopal church in Massachusetts, called the King's Chapel, and made it very apparent that with his other deeds of violence he intended to make the Church of England the State religion of New England. Thus the governor-generalship and the Episcopal religion were indissolubly united in

the minds of the Puritans, and they fought against one as they did against the other.

After the destruction of the old charter governments, and the assumption by the king of a right to appoint all the colonial governors — nearly all of whom were churchmen — the talk of a governor-general subsided; but the design of establishment of bishoprics in this country was agitated with new interest. And the old English missionary Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, organized in 1701, was pressed into the work of building up Episcopal societies in the settled and Christianized portions of this country and even in New England itself — to the neglect of the poor heathen for whose conversion the society was especially intended.

In 1711–12 this proselyting course of the society called out a public discussion between Dean Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and the Rev. Dr. Colman of Brattle street church, Boston. In the course of this discussion, which was a most courteous one on either side, it came out distinctly that the desire and purpose of the English government and the bishops was still — as it had been from the beginning — to establish bishoprics in this country.

The controversy, begun by Dr. Colman in 1711–12, was not entirely closed until September, 1734, when Dr. Colman in his old age wrote once and again to the bishop of London about the course of the Propagation Society in spending so much labor

and money to build up Episcopacy in New England, among a people abundantly supplied with the institutions of religion, and able and willing to support them, while the heathen in the land were overlooked by the society. This controversy was not confined to Massachusetts. It began in Connecticut as early as 1722, where special and most successful efforts of the Propagation Society were made to promote Episcopacy, and where four important conversions to that faith were made, one of them being no less a person than Mr. Cutler, the rector of Yale College. And now began a violent and personal controversy between these four converts and prominent Congregational divines, which, with occasional lulls, was kept up until about 1736. Then, in 1746 it broke out afresh, the Rev. Noah Hobart of Fairfield, Conn., being the leading disputant on the Congregational side, while about all the Episcopal divines in the country joined in attacking him. The whole colony was agitated for many years with this discussion, which was very pointed, personal, and at times violent. It did not close until 1751, and then, after about ten years, it began again in Massachusetts, and continued to the very dawn of the Revolution, being carried on by such men on the Congregational side as Dr. Charles Chauncy and Dr. Mayhew of Boston, and Dr. Welles of Connecticut; and on the Episcopal side by all the ministers of that faith in New England, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Secker, himself.

What gave special point to this controversy was the fact that the English archbishop^s, in response to the petition of the Episcopal ministers of this country, were then agitating afresh (about 1761-2) the plan of an English episcopate for New England. And this new movement very nearly synchronized with the new zeal of the British government, after the treaty of Paris, to enforce their restrictive policy, and especially direct taxation on these colonies. These governmental movements were particularly manifest between 1763 and 1765, when this controversy was at its very height. The subjugation of the colonies to the absolute control of the British Parliament, and the establishment of an English episcopate here, were regarded as part and parcel of one grand scheme for enslaving the colonies. Hence the leading patriots of this period took as deep an interest in this controversy as did the most zealous clergymen. For, in the course of this very contest—sharp and protracted as it was—the claim was made by the churchmen that the Church of England was even then the established religion of these colonies. It was this that alarmed our leading statesmen and made them all partisans in this polemic war. Not that they cared so much for the increase of Episcopalians in the country, or even for the establishment of bishoprics here, if these people would consent to be simply one among the several denominations of the colonies. But they apprehended—and justly, too, as the

sequel proved — that the spread of Episcopacy would be the spread of Toryism; that churchmen would generally prove enemies to the independence of this country, and would do what they could to sustain the British government in keeping the colonies subordinate and useful appendages simply to the British dominions. Most of the Episcopal ministers then in the country were prerogative men and Tories.

It was this view of the subject which made the old patriot, John Adams, say of this very controversy: "If any one supposes this controversy to have no influence on the great subsequent question, he is grossly ignorant. It spread — the plan of episcopizing the colonies, especially New England — an universal alarm against the authority of parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension that bishops and dioceses and churches and priests and tythes were to be imposed on us by parliament. . . . And if parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England here, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies and tythes, and prohibit all other churches, as conventicles and schism-shops." Samuel Adams and Robert Treat Paine expressed substantially the same sentiments to Dr. Mayhew, while engaged in this great and final contest with Episcopacy.*

That the patriots did not misjudge the churchmen in this matter is plain from the statement of

* *Bradford's Life of Jonathan Mayhew*, 276.

the Rev. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, N. Y., and afterwards bishop in Nova Scotia. Writing in October, 1776, to the Propagation Society in England—whose missionary he had been—Mr. Inglis said: “All the society’s missionaries . . . and all the other clergy of *our* church . . . have, to the utmost of their power, opposed the spirit of disaffection . . . and, though their joint endeavours could not wholly prevent the rebellion, yet they checked it considerably for some time, and prevented many thousands from plunging into it, who otherwise would certainly have done so.” *

This Episcopal controversy, which had occupied the attention of the New England churches more or less for nearly a century and a half, and which had been from time to time very sharp during half a century, at length subsided about 1771–2, with the publication of Dr. Chauncy’s great work entitled “A Compleat View of Episcopacy as exhibited from the Fathers of the Christian Church until the close of the Second Century.” Indeed, all controversies were about that time being swallowed up by the one great question—how most effectually to resist by armed force the encroachments of the British government on the rights and liberties of the colonies, and finally, how to secure the entire independence of the colonies of British rule in State

* *The Pulpit of the American Revolution.* By J. Wingate Thornton, Intr. p. xxxi.

as well as Church. And with the triumph of the colonies in the struggle for civil liberty disappeared most of the Episcopalian clergy from among us, and all fear of bishops and an American ecclesiastical hierarchy.

NOTE. The above notice of the Episcopal controversy in New England is simply a very meagre analysis of some one hundred and fifty manuscript pages which were prepared for this history, but which, with much else, may never see the light of print, for the lack of room. The sources from which the statements in the text have been derived are too numerous to be quoted in this note. They are, besides the current histories of the period, largely the writings of the controversialists themselves, on either side, and the memoirs of the prominent actors in this business.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1776-1783 — THE NEW ENGLAND CHURCHES SUBSEQUENTLY — MASSACHUSETTS FROM 1783 TO 1879 — CONNECTICUT FROM 1665 — RHODE ISLAND FROM 1790 — MAINE FROM 1750 — NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1750 — VERMONT FROM 1749.

THE treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, which gave to Great Britain all North America from Florida to Canada, covering her with honor and glory, and filling New England with joy and rejoicing, was after all but the prelude of troubles more serious and wars more exhausting than any that either country had previously experienced, and prepared the way for another treaty of Paris, signed September 3, 1783, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States. But the conquest of Canada did not cause, it only occasioned the American Revolution sooner than it would otherwise have occurred. For England had for many years been sowing the dragon's teeth which produced this revolution. While the colonies were poor and insignificant they were not much troubled by the English government, though often alarmed in anticipation of interference with their civil and ecclesiastical rights and liberties. But with the growth and prosperity of the colonies grew the desire and purpose of the English to make them useful to that country,

without regard to the interests or wishes of the colonists themselves. And to do this most effectually it was deemed important, first of all, to keep the colonists as dependent as possible on the mother country. The old colonial charters, being in the way of this selfish policy, were unscrupulously seized and vacated. The enterprise and energy of the colonists in the direction of commerce, trade and manufactures, intimating their ability and purpose ultimately to provide for their own staple wants, induced the English government to pass, and subsequently to confirm and make more stringent, a Navigation Act (1651-1660), making English built and manned ships the only carriers of merchandise to and from the colonies and the mother country, and requiring all the produce of the plantations to be taken directly to England. Then came a Board of Trade (1663-1696) to look after the colonies; then (1778-9) a custom house and a retinue of English officials to enforce the severe regulations of the Board, and then heavy duties on articles of consumption, and the absolute prohibition of certain manufactures and onerous restrictions of others, and of trade in them all—all these annoying and oppressive acts preceded the conquest of Canada.

After the treaty of Paris, it was thought by the English cabinet to be an opportune time to enforce more rigidly old restrictions and to impose new ones on the colonies. First came, in 1764, the imposition of direct taxes for revenue, the support

of British colonial officers of royal appointment, and the maintenance of English troops in the colonies to overawe the people and enforce the decrees of Parliament. In 1765 came the hated Stamp Act; in 1767 new duties were laid on tea and various other articles, and at the same time the British garrison in Boston was strengthened; and finally, in 1768, came new acts enforcing the Mutiny and Desertion Act.

Now, against these and other successive restrictions, impositions, and enforcements of parliamentary decrees, there was a steady and persistent and resolute, and finally desperate, resistance by the colonists, which led to bloodshed by English soldiers in 1770, and to open rebellion on the part of the Americans, bringing on the war for independence in 1776; which continued for eight years, exhausting the resources of the country, killing or maiming for life thousands of our young and middle-aged men, and generally demoralizing the people to a fearful extent.*

The years which elapsed between the end of the French War and the end of our Revolutionary War

* In the course of this war, between 1775 and 1783, both included, New England raised nearly one hundred and forty-eight thousand soldiers, out of a population of less than a million and ten thousand souls. Massachusetts sometimes had every fifth able-bodied man in the army; and during 1779 she had to pay toward the support of the war fifty thousand dollars monthly in specie. Other colonies were taxed proportionally.

(1760-1783) were by no means favorable to the growth of piety or the increase of churches. Yet the New England churches made moderate gains through the entire period, and at the close of it could report an aggregate addition to their number of one hundred and fifty-six new churches; making the whole number of Congregational churches which had been gathered in New England from the first about six hundred and fifty-six. From this number, however, some deduction must be made for churches which had died in the course of these twenty-three years. Estimating the population of New England in 1783 at a million and nine thousand—it was only five hundred more than that in 1790—we shall have a Congregational church for about every fifteen hundred and forty men, women, and children in these States.

If we estimate the Baptist churches in New England at one hundred and sixty-three, with a membership of ten thousand; and the Episcopalians at forty parishes and a proportional number of communicants—say twenty-five hundred persons; and the Quakers at twenty meetings and four thousand members; we shall have a total of two hundred and twenty-three religious organizations other than Congregational, in New England, in 1783. And supposing they had an average following of two hundred persons each, we shall have less than fifty thousand avowed anti-Congregationalists in these eastern colonies; and if to these we add an equal number of Nothingarians, there must

have been in all New England eight hundred and seventy-nine religious organizations — churches, parishes and “meetings” — six hundred and fifty-six of which were Congregational — or nearly three times as many as all the others together. And estimating the entire population of these eastern States then at one million nine thousand, we shall have nine hundred and nine thousand nominal Congregationalists, against one hundred thousand of all others. This was substantially the comparative condition of Congregationalism and other organizations ecclesiastical, in New England, at the close of the Revolutionary War in 1783.

But nevertheless our churches came out of the Revolution — in which they took an active and important part — in a dilapidated and impoverished condition. Many of their ministers and large numbers of their members had been in the armies, and not a few had been killed, or wounded, or broken down by hardships and sickness. Many congregations had been broken up, their meeting-houses had been burned or desecrated, and well-nigh ruined by the enemy; and the churches quite generally had to begin anew with their church arrangements and their religious institutions; while at the same time hundreds of their dwelling-houses and other buildings, which had also been burned or pulled down by the British soldiery, had to be rebuilt; and all repairing of breaches had to be done by people who were borne down almost

to despair by the fearful but necessary taxes which were imposed upon them by government.*

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES SINCE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

And now, before we leave New England, this busy hive of Congregational believers and workers, whence have gone thousands of men and women and children, to the great central and western territories of this Union, to build up towns, organize churches, and establish all the institutions which have made New England the glory of all lands—before leaving these little eastern States, to watch the progress of Congregationalism in other parts of the land, it may be satisfactory to have a summary presentation of the progress of the denomination here since the Revolution.

IN MASSACHUSETTS, the years which immediately followed the Revolution were but little if any more encouraging, so far as religion was concerned, than were those of the actual war. In point

* In 1777 Congress recommended to the several colonies to raise \$5,000,000; of which more than one third was assigned to New England. In 1785 the national debt to be provided for was about \$40,000,000; while the whole population of the country was less than four millions of souls. And besides this enormous debt, the several colonies had each to provide for its own debts a sum larger even than its proportion of the national debt.—See *Bradford's New Eng. Chronology, passim*; *Holmes' Ann.*, 11, 237 —, 538 and tables; *State of Trade in the Northern Colonies*; *New Hamp. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1, 236.

of fact, Massachusetts gathered fewer churches between 1790 and 1800 than during any previous ten years for ninety years.* And between 1800 and 1810 the Congregational churches here were increased only by nineteen. During the next ten years they were involved in the great Unitarian controversy, and added to their number but twenty-six churches, several of which were by secession.

But, though the number of our churches was not increased very largely, the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first ten years of the present century were very important and significant years in our denominational history. The vitality and religious enterprise of the churches appeared in the zeal with which they set at work immediately on the close of the Revolutionary War to repair the breaches in their own walls and to help the poor and the destitute in other sections of the country. As early as 1798 the Congregational Missionary Society in the County of Berkshire, Mass., and the adjoining County of Columbia, N. Y., began its operations for "the advancement of the kingdom of Christ in the extensive new settlements of our country and among heathen nations."† And before the close of 1801 the society had sent missionaries to Pennsylvania, Western

* *Clark's Mass. Ch'hs*, 224.

† *N. Y. Miss. Mag. and Repository of Religious Intelligence*, 111, 401-6.

and Northern New York and Vermont, who had gathered no less than eight churches, and preached the gospel to many hundreds of destitute settlers in those new territories. The next year, May 28, 1799, was formed the Massachusetts Missionary Society, for "the spread of the knowledge of the glorious gospel of Christ among the poor heathen, and in those remote parts of our country in which the inhabitants do not enjoy the benefit of a Christian ministry and Christian ordinances." The society began directly to send missionaries to Maine, New York, Vermont and Pennsylvania.*

The organization of the General Association of Massachusetts Ministers in the year 1802 was another indication of the life and spirit of the Orthodox Congregationalists of the State. But it was not without considerable dissent and even opposition from some of the local associations — of which there were then twenty-four in the State, embracing two hundred and thirty-five ministers — that the General Association was formed. The principal objections evidently arose from the apprehension that an attempt would be made by the Association to secure "uniformity of creed," and that creed more Calvinistic and evangelical than was approved by many ministers in the commonwealth. Other and more serious objections were based on the apprehension that this association might assume judicial power, or in some other way

* *Mass. Miss. Mag.*, I, 5-9, 66-72.

interfere with the rights and liberties of the churches.*

The General Association proved to be so efficient and valuable an aid to the Congregational churches of Massachusetts, that for more than fifty years it was the only common bond of union between them. In September, 1860, however, a General State Conference was organized, composed of representatives, clerical and lay, of all the local conferences of the State. The question of the union of these two bodies began to be agitated directly, and in 1868 the union was effected; and now twenty-seven local associations of ministers, and twenty-five local conferences, are united in the General Association of Massachusetts.

The first thirty years of this century will ever be memorable as the period of the great Unitarian defection of Congregational ministers and churches in Massachusetts. Individuals had adopted the Unitarian faith long before this time; and one Episcopal clergyman of Boston had declared his conversion to Unitarianism as early as 1782. But there was no open and extensive adoption of that faith in this country until the beginning of this century. Another thing gave the Orthodoxy of Massachusetts a severe shock in 1804. It was the discovery that the ancient university of the

* *Clark and Quint; Account of Gen. Ass. of Mass., in Clark's Hist., 237-42.*

State was under the absolute control of anti-Calvinists. This first appeared in the appointment of the Rev. Henry Ware, of Hingham—then avowedly anti-Calvinistic, and finally openly Unitarian—to the Hollis professorship of Sacred Theology; the incumbent of which was required by the founder of the professorship—who was a Trinitarian Calvinistic Baptist—to be “of sound or Orthodox principles.”

The University from which the churches had received their chief supply of pastors, being thus lost to Christ and his church, as it was thought, it became a question of vital interest to the churches, how this loss should be supplied. In 1807–8 this question was answered by the establishment and endowment of the Andover Theological Seminary. This was very naturally regarded as one of the most important ecclesiastical events of the period. The appreciation of this enterprise appears in the fact that in September, 1809, the Seminary had no less than thirty-six students preparing for the Christian ministry; and for forty-five years it furnished an average yearly supply of twenty-five ministers.

The period from 1810 to 1840 was indeed one of the most memorable in our history, and Massachusetts was the principal field on which the memorable events transpired. It was during these thirty years that the vitality and aggressive energy of the Congregational churches of Massachusetts appeared most conspicuously in the organization

of various religious and benevolent societies; such as: the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1810; the American Tract Society, in 1814; the American Education Society, in 1816; the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union, in 1825; the American Temperance Society, in 1826.

Though one might hesitate to call the first third of this century *the* revival period of Massachusetts—there having been so many such epochs in our history—yet certainly it was a memorable time for powerful and continuous religious awakenings; and a well informed writer of that period declared, in 1831, that “since the days of the apostles, there had been no such copious and universal outpouring of the Spirit, no such evident and cheering precursors of millennial triumph.” *

The effect of these revivals appeared in the steady and large additions to our churches from year to year. In 1827 the number of communicants in the Congregational churches of Massachusetts was not far from thirty-three thousand. The number in 1829 (reported in 1830), had increased about three thousand, making the whole number of communicants that year, thirty-five thousand six hundred and twenty. And for several years after this date these churches continued to increase in communicants nearly in the same

* *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, 1831, iv, p. 72.

ratio: numbering in 1830 thirty-seven thousand; in 1831, forty thousand; in 1832, forty-three thousand two hundred; in 1833, forty-six thousand nine hundred. The work of revival and church building continued to move along together, varying somewhat from year to year, to 1858, which was called a "great revival year." Eleven new churches came into existence in 1834, and from six to ten every year to 1840; making an average of eight new churches every year from 1830 to 1840, both years included; and from the year 1841 to the year 1856, both included, there were one hundred and three new Congregational churches formed in Massachusetts—or an average of six churches every year for seventeen years. Thus Orthodox Congregationalism continued to maintain an honorable position in the State, relatively to other religious denominations. Its churches were nearly twice as many as any other denomination had, and almost equal to one third of all the different religious bodies in the Commonwealth.*

The ten years from 1858 to 1868 increased the Congregational churches of Massachusetts to four hundred and ninety-six; the ministers, to five hundred and ninety-two; and the church members, to nearly seventy-eight thousand—77,834. At the present date (1879), the number of our churches is five hundred and twenty-eight; of our ministers, six hundred and seventy-four; and

* See *Clark*, xxiii chapter, *passim*.

of our church members, ninety-one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven.

So much for the statistics of Massachusetts Congregationalism—statistics which, if not particularly entertaining, are yet very suggestive and instructive reading. If any one is tempted to call them “dry bones,” let him consider, that out of these any tolerably skilled hands may construct a well-proportioned, powerful frame; a body of uncommon vitality, and energy, and efficiency.

Connecticut has ever maintained an honorable position in Congregational history. At the time of the union, in 1665, the two colonies together had fifteen Congregational churches only. But in 1676, when all the Congregational churches in New England numbered but one hundred and thirty, Connecticut had thirty-five as her proportion. In 1760 her churches had increased to one hundred and seventy, in a population of about one hundred and thirty-one thousand souls. The next forty years added thirty-seven new churches to this sisterhood; and during the next thirty-three years about thirty-three more churches were added, making the whole number in 1833, two hundred and thirty-two (eight having disbanded), with a noble army of twenty-nine thousand five hundred communicants. The numerous and powerful revivals of religion which were enjoyed in these churches during the years 1830–1835 resulted in the hopeful conversion of from eight to

nine thousand souls; and among them, one hundred and twenty students of Yale College.

In the course of another generation, in 1867, Connecticut increased the number of her Congregational churches to two hundred and eighty-seven, and her church members to forty-seven thousand four hundred. At the present time, 1879, her churches number two hundred and ninety-eight, and their communicants, fifty-five thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

From the day that ten of the principal Congregational ministers of the colony met by appointment at Branford, and after forming themselves into a society, each placed upon a table a valuable contribution of books from his own library, saying as he did this: "I give these books for the foundation of a college in this colony!"—from that day to this, the Congregational ministers of Connecticut have been the constant friends and the earnest promoters of good learning, both secular and religious. True, their leading motive in founding a college was to provide an educated ministry for the churches. But they fully recognized the importance of general intelligence, as well as sound religious principle, to the stability and prosperity of the commonwealth. And could the privilege be granted those venerable founders of Yale College, to look down to-day on more than twelve thousand men who have received at this institution the best education that this country affords, general and professional, two thousand

of whom have become preachers of the gospel — could such a vision be vouchsafed to the ten ministers who founded the college at Branford, one hundred and eighty years ago, they would surely see of the travail of their souls and be satisfied.

High schools and academies, for males and females, are numerous, and many of them very superior in character; and from its very beginning, Connecticut has maintained a system of free schools.

The Connecticut churches are entitled to the high honor of having led all the other States in missionary work in the newly settled sections of this country. Beginning in 1774, these churches have been constant in the work. Fifteen or more years ago they had contributed between six and seven hundred thousand dollars towards supplying destitute sections of our country with the institutions of religion. And if we estimate the average yearly contributions to this day at forty thousand dollars, we shall find that the little State of Connecticut has given more than a million and a quarter of dollars to the cause of home missions. This, in addition to liberal expenditures for foreign missions and other Christian enterprises, and all that has been paid to support the institutions of religion at home, has amounted to a very large sum of money. The ministry at home cost these churches, as long ago as 1859, no less than three hundred and forty-four thousand dollars a year; in addition to nearly or quite a

million of dollars invested in parsonages, and in other ways devoted to the promotion of evangelical religion. And these churches have given their young men and women, as well as their money, to missions; through whose labors more than five hundred churches have been formed.* Surely of Connecticut no Congregationalist can be otherwise than proud.

Rhode Island, the smallest State in the Union, had in 1790 less than sixty-nine thousand inhabitants, and not more than ten Congregational churches. One of the earliest indications of denominational life in the State appeared in 1808, when was formed the Evangelical Consociation of Congregational Churches and Ministers; which subsequently gave place to the Rhode Island Congregational Conference, which is the present denominational bond of union between the churches. The progress of Congregationalism in the State was very slow—as has already been indicated in a previous chapter; in which the early history of our churches in Aquiday and Rhode Island has been given †—the churches in 1824 not exceeding

* As long ago as 1861, the number of Connecticut home missionaries was, by estimation, 279; while the number of their sons and daughters who had gone on foreign missions or among the Indian tribes, was set down at one hundred and eighty-five. See for the statistical statements in this sketch, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut*, *passim*, particularly, XIII, 154–59 and 179, 163–179. See also *Report of Am. Home Miss. Soc.* for 1873, p. 62.

† See Chapter x of this volume.

twelve or thirteen. In 1831, instead of having gained, the denomination had actually lost two or three churches, and had but about one thousand church members. But in the course of the next three years there was an increase of churches to thirteen, and of church members to fifteen hundred. In 1840 sixteen churches in all had been formed in the State; and in 1868 the number of Congregational churches was twenty-three, with a membership of over thirty-five hundred; which in 1879 had increased to twenty-five churches, and five thousand two hundred church members.

From all which, it appears that Congregationalism is not in a particularly flourishing condition in Rhode Island; or rather, that there is not a great deal of it; though what there is sustains a good report in all the churches for its quality and efficiency.

In Maine the progress of Congregationalism from 1750 to 1800 was very satisfactory and encouraging, considering all the circumstances of the case—forty-eight new churches being gathered; so that Maine began this century with about sixty-five Congregational churches, and sixty-three ministers. It deserves notice that her greatest increase of churches occurred between 1790 and 1800, when about twenty churches and as many ministers were added to her list; the very years in which Massachusetts made smaller gains than during any ten years of the century, nearly. At the close of 1820 Maine could count

a gain of forty-eight churches; and twenty-eight were added in the course of the next ten years. In 1832 the General Conference of Maine could report as within its bounds one hundred and sixty-six Congregational churches, twelve thousand five hundred communicants, and one hundred and fifteen ministers.*

The revivals of 1830-34 added sixteen churches to the Maine Conference; and her Congregational church members were equal to one in every thirty of the entire population of the State. In 1842 her churches had increased to two hundred and nine, and her church members somewhat exceeded seventeen thousand. Since 1842 Maine has gained twenty-nine churches, making two hundred and thirty-eight in 1879; and her church members then amounted to twenty-one thousand three hundred and seven.

But Maine, like New Hampshire and Vermont, has probably seen her best days. The immense emigration westward since 1860 has considerably reduced her population. In 1860 she had a population of 628,279, while in 1870 it had actually diminished to 626,915.

The Congregationalists of Maine have always been the hearty and efficient friends of education of all useful kinds, from the common school to the theological seminary. And no body of churches

* See Greenleaf's *Ecc. Hist. of Maine*, 22-34; *Am. Quar. Reg.*, v, 120; and iv, 222; *Congl. Quarterly*, January, 1874.

in our communion have a better reputation for soundness of faith and consistent religious activity. Their State Conference has ever been regarded as a model of its kind. It is a common bond of union for fourteen ministerial associations and fourteen county conferences, into which the churches and ministers of the State are now distributed. The Bangor Theological Seminary was organized in 1816, and has ever sustained a most excellent reputation, from the high character of its teachers and the efficiency of its work in preparing ministers of the gospel. In 1879 it had four professors and thirty-six students.

New Hampshire was under the government of Massachusetts from 1640 to 1680. Then it was erected into an independent Province by Charles II; though its largest town, Portsmouth, then contained but seventy-one legal voters, and the whole territory but about four thousand inhabitants. Yet every settled town had in it a Congregational minister. Twenty years later, in 1700, sixty-two years from the first settlement, there were only five such churches in the Province; so slow had been the progress of everything there. By the middle of the century, in 1751, the number of our churches had increased twenty-eight or twenty-nine, making the whole number thirty-three or thirty-four; and affiliated with them were five Presbyterian churches. And it certainly deserves notice, that, of all the Congregational churches

formed previous to 1751, not one, so far as is known, has died out.

For the purpose of comparison it may be stated that an Episcopal chapel was built in Portsmouth in 1638; a Quaker meeting was established in 1701; the first Presbyterian church was organized in 1717, and a Baptist church was formed in 1755.

“The General Convention of Ministers in the Province of New Hampshire” was formed at Exeter, July 28, 1747, seventeen ministers uniting at once in the movement. In 1758 these ministers petitioned Governor Wentworth for a charter for “an Academy or College,” and in 1762–1769 were all ready to welcome and endorse Dr. Wheelock’s enterprise for establishing an Indian School and a College in the Province. And in the course of a few years we find the convention taking up contributions to aid in the education of ministers’ sons in the College. They also engaged in the work of supplying “the back settlements” with occasional preaching; a movement which culminated in the formation of the New Hampshire Missionary Society in 1801, which is still alive and active in its benevolent work.

Kimball Union Academy, at Meriden, founded in 1813–1814, owes its existence and prosperity largely to the Congregational ministers of the State; as indeed did nearly every academy and high school established there previous to 1820.

And many of them have richly repaid the ministers and churches for their interest and support. Union Academy in 1875 claimed to have educated in part more than three hundred ministers of various denominations, ten foreign missionaries, and more than that number of home missionaries, four presidents of colleges, and several founders of new colleges.

The associated ministers of New Hampshire have ever been the active organizers and promoters of Bible, Tract, Educational, Temperance and all kindred societies in the State. They can even claim the honor of having been engaged in the publication and circulation of religious tracts a year or two before the old New England Tract Society was formed in Massachusetts.*

In 1809, when The General Association of New Hampshire took the place of the old Convention of Ministers, the churches had increased with the new settlements which were extending all over the State. There were then about ninety Congregational and Presbyterian ministers there, who were organized into eight local associations for mutual improvement and coöperation. In 1816 the whole number of churches connected with the

* The Rev. Dr. Bouton's *Historical Discourses*, before the General Association in 1848, and his *Fiftieth Anniversary Discourse*, in 1859, are treasuries of interesting facts relating to the early history of the churches of New Hampshire, to which I am much indebted. See *Proceedings of the First Ten Years of the Am. Tract Soc.*, Pref.

General Association was eighty-six, with about eight thousand communicants. From that time onward to 1835 there was a steady growth of the denomination in the State; when the churches numbered one hundred and seventy, the ministers one hundred and twenty-five, and the church members nearly twenty-one thousand—20,950. This certainly was a very handsome exhibit, when it is considered that the whole number of towns in the State did not exceed two hundred and twenty, and the entire population was but about two hundred and sixty-nine thousand souls.

But New Hampshire had seen her best days by the middle of this century, and has been losing in population, and making very small gains in the number of Congregational churches and church members, ever since. In 1860 the population of the State was three hundred and twenty-six thousand, in round numbers; in 1870 it was only three hundred and eighteen thousand three hundred souls; showing a loss of nearly eight thousand in ten years—7,773. If the same ratio of decrease has continued, the population of the State in 1880 will be twelve thousand less than it was in 1860.

In 1860 the whole number of our churches in the State was one hundred and eighty-four; and the number of communicants, twenty thousand two hundred and forty-six. In 1870 the number of our churches was one hundred and eighty-five—a gain of one church only in ten years; but the

number of church members had fallen off sixteen hundred and fifty-seven—to eighteen thousand five hundred and eighty-nine. In 1875 the whole number of strictly Congregational churches was one hundred and eighty eight—a gain of three in five years; but our communicants had fallen off two hundred and thirty-three—to eighteen thousand three hundred fifty-six. Compared with the year 1845, the Congregational churches had lost about three thousand members. In 1879 the churches of New Hampshire numbered one hundred and eighty-six—two more than we had in 1860; but our church members were twenty thousand two hundred and seventeen, only twenty-nine less than in 1860; but eighteen hundred and sixty-one more than we had in 1875.

The settlement of Vermont was among the notable events in the history of Congregationalism which followed the conquest of Canada and grew out of it. This is the youngest and not the least comely of the New England sisterhood. Stretching from the northern boundary of Massachusetts to Canada line, this territory was the thoroughfare of the Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts troops on their marches to and from Canada and the northern lakes during the wars with France. Thus its verdant hills and fruitful valleys became familiar to our people.

Some unsuccessful attempts had been made to settle the southern part of this territory in 1724, when Fort Dummer was built near the present

town of Brattleboro'. But its exposed situation during the French and Indian wars prevented its settlement, though it did not prevent enterprising farmers and speculators from buying up choice lots of this fair land, particularly after 1749, when Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire — the country being claimed as New Hampshire territory — offered land on the most liberal terms to settlers — so liberal, that there was raised quite a furor for buying Vermont lands. The last great French War, which began in 1754, checked this movement for a time, but after the peace it revived with new force, and by the close of 1763 Governor Wentworth had actually disposed of one hundred and twenty-eight grants — "New Hampshire Grants," as they were called. Sixty townships, six miles square, were granted in the single year of 1761.

Having bought their lands once and taken possession of them, the hardy settlers were in no mood to pay a second time for their acres, or be ejected from them by New York authorities, who also claimed that these lands belonged to them. They therefore armed and combined to resist all attempts at ejection, and in spite of all that New York could do, the "Green Mountain Boys" finally secured an undisputed title to their lands, and their own entire independence of either New York or New Hampshire, by paying a small sum to New York as a peace offering.

The first settlers in Vermont were nearly all

New England people, and they carried with them the institutions under which they had lived and prospered in their old homes.

Bennington, in the southwest corner of the territory, on the very borders of New York, was the first township granted by Governor Wentworth, January 8, 1749. Its principal purchaser was Captain Samuel Robinson, an old soldier of the French War. It was not, however, until the autumn of 1761, that he succeeded in securing a company of Christian people known as "Separatists" to accompany him and commence the settlement of the town. These Separatists were a good people, and religious meetings were maintained by them from the very first, and a Congregational church was organized in the winter of 1762. Though destitute of a pastor, the church sustained religious worship on Sundays, and prayer and conference meetings every Friday evening, until 1763, when they secured the Rev. Jedediah Dewey as their pastor. This church is still alive and prospering, while two sister churches have grown up by her side, the three having an aggregate of four hundred and eighty members in 1879.

The next Congregational church in Vermont was organized at Newbury, in 1764; and its first pastor was the Rev. Peter Powers, who was settled over Haverhill and Newbury, January 24, 1765. The church in Newbury is still living and prospering; and with two sister churches by her

side, together numbering four hundred and thirty-five communicants.

Westminster church stands next to Newbury in point of age; dating back to 1767. It has now one hundred and twenty-two members; while a sister church, within the limits of the town, organized in 1799, has nearly a hundred communicants more.

Windsor and Guilford Congregational churches were the next organized, both in 1768. Windsor seems to be thriving, after having lived a century and twelve years; reporting a membership of one hundred and ninety-two in 1879. But Guilford, though still on the list of Congregational churches, has now little but a name to live.

The work of church building, in connection with town organization, went on steadily, if not rapidly, from 1770 to 1779, both years included, adding eleven new Congregational churches to the list, nine of which still survive. And the next ten years, from 1780 to 1789, twenty-three churches were formed, in as many newly settled townships. And in the course of the next ten years, completing the century, thirty new Congregational churches were organized in Vermont.

Thus it appears that seventy-four Congregational churches were organized in Vermont between the years 1762 and 1800, a period of thirty-eight years. The first thirty years of the present century added one hundred and twenty-six churches to the Vermont Congregational

sisterhood, making the whole number in 1830 two hundred or two hundred and three churches. This rapid increase of our churches in the State is explained by the extraordinary rush of emigrants to that attractive section of New England during those years.

In 1790 the population of Vermont was eighty-five thousand and five hundred souls; in 1800 it had one hundred and fifty-four thousand four hundred and more inhabitants; and in 1810 the number was nearly two hundred and eighteen thousand — 217,895.* Subsequently, for thirty years, there was little increase of churches in the State, and but a moderate increase of population.†

In 1838 the number of Congregational churches in Vermont had increased only two in eight years, to two hundred and five churches, containing twenty-two thousand two hundred and seven communicants, served by one hundred and thirty-eight ministers. This seems to have been the highest point reached by the Vermont churches; for in 1850 only one hundred and ninety-four churches were reported, and but about eighteen thousand church members. The number of

* For the data, in this sketch of Vermont, I am indebted to *Williams' History of Vermont*; *Hall's Early History of Vermont*; *Thompson's Gazetteer of Vermont*; and to the fourteen volumes of the *American Quarterly Register*, and the invaluable tables in the *Congregational Quarterly*.

† The population of Vermont, in 1820, was 235,764; in 1830, it was 280,652; and in 1843 it had increased only to 291,949.

churches and church members has increased slightly since that date, being at the present time [1879] one hundred and ninety-eight churches, and twenty thousand one hundred and seventeen church members; while the number of Congregational ministers in the State is one hundred and ninety-five, forty-nine of whom are not in the pastoral work.

The ecclesiastical organization of the Vermont churches is similar to that of other New England States generally. It consists of associations of ministers for mutual help and personal improvement, of which there are now fourteen; and of conferences of churches, designed to promote the spiritual interests of the people, of which there are thirteen; all of which find a common centre of union in the "Vermont General Convention of Congregational Ministers and Churches," organized in 1796, composed of delegates from the several local bodies which have been named.

The first efficient movement towards bringing about this ecclesiastical union of churches and ministers was made on the 27th of August, 1795, when half a dozen ministers met by appointment in Dr. Wheelock's study at Hanover, N. H., and "unanimously agreed,* that there be in future a General Convention of Ministers" in the State of Vermont; and "that the general object and design

* Hist. Gen. Conv. of Cong'l. and Presby. Ministers in Vt. *Am. Quar. Reg.*, xi, 32-44.

of this convention shall be, to consult union and friendship among ministers, and the general interests and well being of the churches."

The Congregational churches of this State have maintained from the first a high standard of intelligent orthodoxy. And they have been forward in every promising measure for benefiting the people and promoting the cause of religion at home and abroad. They have, too, shown themselves the cordial friends of general as well as professional learning; common schools, academies, and colleges have enjoyed the hearty support of the denomination which first broke the virgin soil of this Green Mountain territory, and first established Puritan institutions within its boundaries. With nearly three thousand common or district schools and a very considerable School Fund; with some thirty academies and high schools, and at least as many public libraries; with three collegiate institutions, and two medical schools of considerable repute, Vermont cannot be regarded as otherwise than well provided with the necessary means of education.

For these institutions of learning and religion, and for the general intelligence and religious character of her citizens, which give her an honorable position in the American Union, Vermont is largely indebted to the Puritan Congregational principles of her first settlers. Middlebury College, founded in 1800, though by its charter not denominational, owes its establishment and

prosperity largely to Congregationalists; and almost the same may be said of the Vermont University (chartered in 1791 and opened in 1800), so far as its prosperity and reputation are concerned; nearly all the presidents of both colleges having been, from the first, Congregational ministers, and many of the professors of the same faith.

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